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## CONTENTS

PAGE

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Cooperation Among East Bloc Countries in Educational Sector Described (PRESSE INFORMATIONEN, 27 Jan 77) .....	1
International Summer Seminars at GDR School of Economics Described (Bernhard Lageman; DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Feb 77) .....	3

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mlynar Appeals to International Communist Movement (Franco Bertone; RINASCITA, 28 Jan 77) .....	14
--	----

## EAST GERMANY

January 1977 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed (Helmut Caspar; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 Jan 77) .....	19
Development of Socialist Way of Life Analyzed (Bernd Bittighoefer; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	21
Conditions Analyzed for Shaping of Socialist Way of Life (Gunnar Winkler; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	34
Education, Socialist Way of Life Discussed as Mutual Determinants (Various sources, various dates) .....	45
West German Commentary GDR Educators' Analysis, by Artur Meier, Gerhard Wenzke	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Trade Union Chief Discusses Sociopolitical-Ideological Responsibilities (Harry Tisch Interview; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	60
Political-Ideological Aspects of New Economic Plan Stressed (Heinz Klopfer; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	72
Socialist Concept of Freedom Defended (Herbert Steininger; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	82
Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles (Erwin Gutzmann, et al.; EINHEIT, Jan 77) .....	92

YUGOSLAVIA

Military Contributions to Civilian Life Stressed (Borislav Vucetic; FRONT, 17 Dec 76) .....	94
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COOPERATION AMONG EAST BLOC COUNTRIES IN EDUCATIONAL SECTOR DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE INFORMATIONEN in German 27 Jan 77 pp 5-6

[Text] The party congresses in the fraternal parties have set great tasks for the communist education and training of the younger generation. The pedagogs of the socialist countries are cooperating closely in the implementation of these tasks. In 1976 the mutual exchange of experiences and the cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other socialist countries developed further in the educational sector on the basis of long-range planning to the year 1980 and cooperation was intensified.

During various consultations, the ministers for public education of the socialist countries and other leading coworkers of the ministries discussed developmental questions of communist education and the content of educational work, and voted on the guidelines for further joint work. There was continuous and systematic multilateral cooperation based on the plan for basic measures approved by the first conference of the public education ministers of the socialist countries.

For example, there was a meeting in Berlin of experts from the public education ministries of the socialist countries on the tasks of social science instruction in schools of general education. The meeting also discussed current problems of the guidance of school policy by the ministries of public education.

There has been noticeable expansion of the scope of direct relations between institutions of public education in the German Democratic Republic and corresponding institutions of public education in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Because of visa-free travel, it has also been possible to expand direct contacts with pedagogs and pupils from the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In 1976 for the first time all 15 bezirk departments for public education exchanged delegations with their partners in the USSR. They discussed the many opportunities to increase the effectiveness of instruction and to improve the patriotic and internationalist education of the pupils.

An important form of cooperation is the direct contacts and exchange of guest instructors, on the basis of long-term friendship treaties, between teachers' training colleges and institutions of continuing education in the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the Hungarian People's Republic. About 100 scientists have taken part in this exchange of instructors so far. In addition 160 teachers of science and art from the socialist countries are continuing their education in a total of 10 courses. Some 500 teachers of German from the USSR are perfecting their language skills in our republic, while 300 teachers of Russian from the German Democratic Republic are increasing their linguistic abilities in the Soviet Union.

Many methods of cooperation contribute to the bringing together of school-children and pedagogs of the socialist countries in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. For example, the youth organizations and schools of our countries have common observances of public events, and cultural affairs are organized together with our friendship partners in the People's Republic of Poland and in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Hiking trips for pupils take place on the basis of the hiking guides for border districts worked out with the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The annual exchange of students with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for practical experience during summer vacations has great importance for the training of future teachers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and for raising the level of foreign language skills. Contractual agreements have already been made according to which all student teachers of Russian will, for the first time in 1977, be able to get practical experience in the language during their student years in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In 1976 in the domain of the Ministry for Public Education, more than 250 delegations of school functionaries, education experts and teachers were sent to or received from socialist countries for purposes of study, teaching, and research. More than 400 pedagogs were in fraternal socialist countries for continuing education.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SEMINARS AT GDR SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS DESCRIBED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 2, Feb 77 pp 76-85

[Article by Bernhard Lageman, staff member of the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, East Berlin: "International Summer Seminars at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics"]

[Text] The socialist states and the nationally liberated states seeking their economic independence from imperialism are closely affiliated in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, progress and democracy in the world. Solidary support for the righteous struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America aiming at the solution of their social and economic problems has been a fundamental principle of GDR foreign policy from the very beginning: "The GDR will always stand, without reservation, on the side of those who struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation on all continents."<sup>1</sup>

That is reflected by the GDR's collaboration with developing countries in the political, economic and scientific-technical fields. That collaboration has become smooth in recent years. Diverse forms of cooperation have been realized in it. The international summer seminars are a typical example. They are being sponsored annually in the second half of June or the first half of July by the largest training and research institution for economics in the GDR, the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics in Berlin-Karlshorst. The Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries, which is that institute at the school which specializes in the problems of economic development in the liberated national states, is responsible for the substantive preparation and the management of the seminars. Approximately 35 economists and leading economic functionaries from developing countries and scientists at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics take part every year in the international summer seminars.

#### Seminar Requirements

Each seminar lasts 3 weeks and deals with questions of social and economic development in the socialist countries and of economic development in the liberated national states.



Close ties exist between the history of the international summer seminars and the development of Asian, African and Latin American studies in the GDR. When the national liberation movement early in the '60's had gained decisive successes in the struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke, the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the socialist countries faced the task to respond in an appropriate manner to the practical needs emerging in the public sphere in connection with the collapse of the imperialist colonial system. At that time regional science institutes for teaching and research were set up in several GDR advanced schools. The Bruno Leuschner School of Economics then also was confronted with new tasks, having to train students from the liberated national states. The traditional teaching and research areas of the school, such as the political economy of socialism, or of capitalism, socialist economic planning, import-export or statistical economic analysis presented excellent training prerequisites. The economic training for students from developing countries also makes some specific demands, however, pertaining to the economic development of countries liberated politically from colonialism. The personnel that was to be trained needed specialized knowledge about the nature and criteria of economic backwardness, about the fundamental connections in social reproduction in the liberated national states and the modes for surmounting their backwardness, or for gaining economic independence from imperialism. Only when such specialized knowledge supplements their basic economic training will the graduates, when they return home, be in the position actively to participate there in the solution of social and economic problems. To close the gap that existed here in the teaching and research activities of the school, the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries was established in 1964.<sup>2</sup> The Institute deals with economic research in developing countries and also trains the foreign students from developing countries.

From the very beginning, the scientists at the Institute saw their task in making a contribution, through their work, to the anti-imperialist struggle and to the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national and social liberation, whereby they could participate in the practical implementation of the task, issued by the SED, of providing solidary support for the liberated national states. Both teaching and research at the Institute conform to this task.

In the year when the Institute was set up at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, still other ideas were explored, however, as to how the school, in the framework of its specific possibilities, could help support the liberated national states or the national liberation movement. Those deliberations led to the establishment of an International Summer Seminar, which got its start in 1964.

There is a twofold aim to these international summer seminars. First, they offer the economic personnel and scientists from liberated national states the opportunity to study the social and, in particular, the economic development as well as the achievements in socialist construction in the GDR. Here they can familiarize themselves especially with the management

and planning in the socialist revolution and also with the GDR's basic foreign policy positions. And then, the international summer seminars also are a discussion forum for the developing countries' problems in economic and social development, permitting the foreign participants to discuss the questions of economic development in their states that concern them with Marxist-Leninist scientists who are coming to grips with these problems through their own scholarly work.

### Structure and Emphases

The basic structure of the international summer seminars results from the two-fold objective of providing information about socialism and discussing economic problems of the liberated national states. The seminars are subdivided into three different schedules. The first deals with questions of the development of socialist society through lectures by scientists from the pertinent specialized areas at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, followed by discussions. There one introduces the positions the GDR is taking on important international policy matters, and one discusses the principles of GDR economic development, the creation of socialist production relations in industry and agriculture, the inevitabilities, principles, institutions and procedures of socialist economic planning and socialist economic integration. The second schedule offers the participants the opportunity to gain a personal impression of the development of the socialist economy in the GDR and its management and planning by an excursion lasting several days during which they inspect enterprises. At that time they can substantiate the knowledge they gained by the theoretical part. The third schedule is reserved for discussing matters of social and economic development in the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The emphasis here lies on the implementation of economic planning in the nationally liberated states, the development of the state sector, possibilities for controlling the activities of foreign capital, choices with respect to an industrialization strategy, the role of import-export and the credit and finance system in the industrialization process. Contributions prepared by the scientists of the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries and by the foreign participants are discussed here.

Within the confines of the basic structure of the seminars as discussed, the emphasis on the content changes from year to year. Some seminars, for example, have concentrated on questions of socialist economic planning and the problems of implementing economic planning in developing countries and others, on the problems of the strategy of industrialization in developing countries and industrial development in the socialist states, and the 1976 international summer seminar, finally, concentrated on the problems of industrial planning in the developing countries and socialist economic planning in the socialist states.

The theoretical part of the seminar is marked by a well balanced ratio between lectures and free discussions. Participants receive the written material in time to study it before the lectures. That is why the speakers can confine themselves to introductions to their written material and thereby gain time for the discussion of the questions that were raised by it. Discussions and lectures are held exclusively in English.

The scientific program of the international summer seminars and the visit to enterprises are supplemented by a varied cultural program, which includes visits to cultural centers in the GDR as well as special cultural events sponsored by the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics.

Thus far, 13 international summer seminars have been held. From 1964 to 1974, approximately 450 economic functionaries and prominent economists from 25 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have attended them.

Though the structure and main content of the international summer seminars have been maintained since 1964, the looks of the seminars have changed. There now is a much stronger active contribution by the foreign participants, reflected in the number and quality in the discussion contributions, prepared in advance in writing, they submit and also in the depth and intensity of all seminar discussions. Whereas in early years, the emphasis lay on lectures providing information, a shift has now taken place toward problem-oriented discussions of developments in the liberated national states as well as of social and economic development in the socialist countries. The stronger active participation by foreign participants in the seminars, for one thing, indicates that the participants are better prepared. Economic functionaries in liberated national states have gained considerable practical experiences in coping with their countries' problems in economic policy since they gained their political independence. Because of the great efforts undertaken by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in developing their education systems, the level of the technical skills the functionaries have attained in the scientific institutions and the governmental economic institutions in the developing countries is significantly higher.

Moreover, the development in the developing countries' position in the international class conflict is perceived in a general sense.

"The foreign policy of the developing countries," as the CPSU Central Committee status report to the 25th CPSU Congress says, "has become noticeably more active. That can be seen in many respects, be it by the political line of nonalignment or the activities of OAU as well as the various economic affiliations the developing countries have created. Even today it is clear that the liberated countries, in view of the current conditions of the class forces in the world, are perfectly capable of defying the imperialist dictates in wresting fair, that is, equal economic relations from them. Clear also is something else: The already considerable contribution these countries are making to the common struggle for the peace and security of the peoples can certainly become still more powerful."<sup>3</sup>

The developmental processes alluded to here are reflected, in the concrete case of the international summer seminars, in the increasingly more active and self-assured participation by the representatives from the institutions of nationally liberated states.

Another very important fact has to be mentioned in connection with the development of the international summer seminars. After 1964, the imperialist blockade against the GDR collapsed, and the peace offensive by the socialist community of states achieved great successes due to the constant increase in power on the part of the socialist states and the shift in the international power ratio in favor of the forces of peace and socialism. At a time when those factors were not fully effective as yet, or did not apply, the guests from the developing countries would normally know little and would have no clear ideas about the GDR and the development of the socialist countries when they arrived at the seminars, which is no longer so today. The information about the development of the socialist economy and society was then less penetrating than in more recent seminars. Also more complicated than today were the technical possibilities prospective participants had in applying. The GDR's improved international positions thus have a favorable effect on the development of the seminars.

The international summer seminars clearly enjoy a fine reputation and respect among the progressive economists and economic functionaries of nationally liberated states. That is indicated, among other things, by the fact that year after year great interest is shown in attending by representatives of nationally liberated states, and also by the thank-you letters from former attendants sent to the school collective or the institute. The positive reaction by participants in the seminars is also revealed by the fact that time and again it is precisely those institutions in developing countries that had sent delegates to the seminars in previous years, thus already have had experience with attendance at the seminars, which are trying to enable members of their institutions to take part in the international summer seminars. Now let us look for the reasons for the positive response to the international summer seminars in the circles concerned in the young national states.

#### Impressions by Attendants

There are always final discussions at the end of each international summer seminar when the staff members of the school and the foreign attendants make a joint assessment of the seminars. It gives foreign participants the opportunity to express their personal evaluation of the seminar. Let us cite a few typical positions expressed by previous seminar attendants from various developing countries on the 1976 international summer seminar:

Mr Ataul Haque Khandkar, department chief in the Bangladesh State Planning Commission, thought the seminar had informed him excellently about the GDR's social and economic development. He stressed that the discussion of the economic problems of the developing countries as well as the treatment of the development of socialist society in the GDR were on a very high level and the organization of the international summer seminar, of a model quality. Mr Khandkar holds the opinion that the seminar has furnished him with valuable suggestions for his activities in Bangladesh.

Mr Gumaan Bin Saad, state secretary in the Ministry of Finance in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, emphasized in his comment that the international summer seminar should have to be regarded as a successful contribution by the GDR to the anti-imperialist struggle carried on in common between the socialist countries and the peoples of the nationally liberated states for progress and social liberation. As an especially important element of the seminar he regarded the fact that the seminar offered the foreign participants the possibility for a very thorough and high-level information on the socialist revolution and development in the GDR.

The same aspect of the seminar was referred to by Mr Kitomari, department chief for sectorial planning in Tanzania's Ministry for Finance and Planning, when he said that the seminar had closed for the foreign participants the previously existing information gap about the GDR. Mr Kitomari also showed himself impressed by the quality of the scientific work at the school, especially by the theoretical level of the discussion of the economic and social development problems in the developing countries. Like Mr Khandkar, Mr Kitomari is convinced the knowledge he has gained during the seminar will be of use to him in his professional activities in Tanzania's Ministry for Finance and Planning.

For Mr Sidelil Fasika of the State Planning Commission in Ethiopia the most important benefit of the international summer seminar has been its providing him with his first opportunity to familiarize himself personally with a socialist country. All three main schedules of the seminar, in his view, were most effective and of benefit to the participants. Mr Fasika thinks it possible to apply in the society in his country the experiences of socialist construction in the GDR, if not immediately and routinely, yet after fundamental socioeconomic transformations there.

Dr Venkatramaiah of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona, India, described the seminar on the whole as one of the best international seminars he had ever attended throughout his longtime scientific work at that Indian research institute. The most important aspect to him was the scientific outcome of the seminar discussions of the development in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as of social and economic development in the socialist countries. A similar point was made by Prof Dr Mora of Bogota University, Colombia. He also thinks the scientific level of the seminar was very high. It fully met with his personal expectations. Like Dr Venkatramaiah, Prof Mora expressed the wish the contacts established through the seminar with the school and the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries should be fostered and further developed.<sup>4</sup>

Mr J. M. Brum of Maputo University in Mozambique called the seminar extremely informative and on a high qualitative level. The experiences provided of the development in the socialist countries can be made practically useful in many ways in the developing countries, according to him, as long as the differences in social developmental conditions are kept in mind. All told, he considered the socialist experiences in agricultural development particularly important to his own country.

## Results and Effects of the International Summer Seminars

In terms of different professional objectives, two different types of participants can be distinguished: Those who mainly want to get practical suggestions for their managerial functions in the national economy and those who want to get information and suggestions for their scientific work at advanced schools and research institutions in the developing countries. Both groups are much interested in thorough information about economic development, social transformation and the economic management and planning in the socialist countries. The extremely great need for information has a number of causes: Many functionaries from the nationally liberated states were trained either in imperialist states or at schools in Asia, Africa and Latin America that formerly were under the control of imperialism. During their training they usually got a distorted, superficial and unscientific picture of the development in the socialist countries because that suited imperialist monopoly capitalists or their own domestic reactionary forces. Even if today the attendants at the seminars do have a rough idea of the GDR's contribution to the peace offensive of the socialist community of states and to the support of the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national and social liberation, and with all the great recognition the GDR now enjoys as a highly developed, socialist industrial state, concrete information and knowledge are still lacking about the socialist countries' social and economic development. This includes rudimentary information such as any knowledge about the leadership role of the working class and its party in the process of the socialist revolution and in the development of the socialist society, knowledge about the most important phases of the socialist revolution, about the roads taken for the creation of socialist production relations in industry and agriculture, and about the basic requirements for socialist economic planning.

The theoretical parts of the seminars and the inspection trips to enterprises do away with the widespread ignorance about these matters. After having completed the seminars, their attendants go home with much clearer ideas about what has been achieved in the development of the socialist countries, primarily in the GDR.

Those foreign functionaries who are working at the economic and finance ministries, the planning commissions and management facilities of the government-controlled economic sector in the nationally liberated states expect of the international summer seminars, along with information about the development in the socialist countries, to learn things which will be useful to their own practical activities in pursuit of the economic problems in the developing countries. No stereotype application of experiences in socialist economic construction and in the socialist revolution to the developing countries is possible as the social developmental conditions in the socialist countries differ significantly from those in the nationally liberated states. Nor are the Marxist-Leninist scientists in the GDR able or willing to provide the functionaries from the developing countries with ready-made recipes for dealing with their social and economic development. That is not the job of

the international summer seminars. There is nevertheless conclusive evidence that the seminars have been able to furnish the foreign participants with a great number of valuable suggestions through their exploiting the experiences of social and economic development in the socialist countries and through bringing to them the research results of GDR scientists dealing with the development in the developing countries. The objective foundation for providing such practicable handles lies in the historical effect as a model that socialism exercises for the nationally liberated states: "As the only practically tested, proven and consistently progressive social order, true-to-life socialism offers many developing countries a direct demonstration of what their own future development can be."<sup>5</sup>

The international summer seminars demonstrate possibilities to the representatives of the developing countries and make available experiences in socialist development to them, so that they may make use of them in their own states, while always taking account of any specific objective and subjective conditions there. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine on economics for the developing countries in this process is forming the Marxist-Leninist social science conception on the matters of socioeconomic transformation in the nationally liberated states, on industrialization, economic planning, agricultural change and so forth.

From seminar discussions and their exploitation and from the reports by former seminar attendants can be deduced where the most important seminar impulses lie that are practically applicable to the economic functionaries and made real use of by them. Some of these areas shall be summarized here:

(1) Economic planning: Showing the experiences in socialist economic planning and the research results by GDR scientists dealing with questions of economic planning in developing countries supplied the guests with a number of virtually very important basic insights:

Carrying out economic planning in the developing countries is possible only when the national democratic state extends its control over all areas of reproduction. This presupposes the doing away with, or the confining of, the capitalist production relations and the development of a strong state sector in control of the national economy acting as the germinating cell for socialist production relations.

Economic planning is possible only through a unity between production and investment planning, and between the planning of material and financial resources. Past attempts by some developing countries at developing their economic planning have often failed because their planning completely ignored any method of balances for planned volumes clewed to intrinsic values and, furthermore, was confined to requirements of financial plans for the most important government investment projects.

The GDR planning system provides a great number of concrete recommendations for the solution of various planning problems that are suitable also to the

young national states, such as pertaining to the cooperation among planning authorities on the economic, branch and enterprise levels, and the organization of plan elaboration, discussion, confirmation and realization.

The broad creative participation by the working people in plan elaboration and fulfillment, which is being carried out in the socialist countries, is of special importance particularly for those developing countries that are seeking ways and means right now for more strongly involving the broad popular working masses in the implementation of revolutionary democratic economic policy.

(2) Agricultural change: A solution for the agricultural problem is a key issue for social and economic progress in the developing countries. The inevitabilities in this and their practical application, the methods and prospects of socialist agricultural change, proved interesting to those seminar participants particularly who are concerned with agricultural development in their own states. The scientists of the school who are dealing with agricultural development in the developing countries are pointing to possibilities during the seminars for utilizing the rich experiences in socialist agricultural development for the benefit of the states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(3) Industrial strategy: The seminars explain the reasons for the great success the socialist countries have had in their industrial development and deal with the possibilities of using these experiences in the developing countries. Practical suggestions pertaining to this can be found in the following points: Basic decision-making on the strategy for industrialization; choice of branch structures and of technology; and criteria for project selection in the decisions on industrial investment projects.

(4) Cadre training: All nationally liberated states are facing great problems in this regard. The structure of the socialist educational system is of the greatest interest to them. The relevant experiences offered the participants can relatively easily be made use of in developing countries.

The seminar participants who were primarily interested in the scientific aspect as they are working in research institutions in nationally liberated states received useful stimuli for their personal scientific work from the international summer seminars, they all agreed. As those activities are very different in kind, however, the concrete benefits of the seminars are more difficult to assess in this case than for those gained by the economic functionaries with executive functions. Those persons find in the seminars, along with their obtaining information on the social and economic development in the socialist countries, as already mentioned, principally impulses for thought for their own further work on practical and theoretical economic requirements in the area of economic development in the developing countries. This is a task the seminars fulfilled primarily through penetrating discussions in their theoretical segments.



Finally, one should have to refer to the effects the seminars have on dealing with the economic and social problems in the nationally liberated states at the school and at the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries themselves. The Marxist-Leninist scientists involved got valuable suggestions for their scientific work out of the seminars too. The scientific outcome of the summer seminars is published by the school in the form of written contributions submitted by native and foreign participants.<sup>6</sup>

It follows from all that has been said that the international summer seminars are a specific form in which the GDR develops scientific-technical relations with the developing countries. Through them, the basic thought of a practically effective solidary support of the anti-imperialist struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the GDR or the socialist community of states is, in a striking manner, translated into action. The international summer seminars are to be regarded as a good example of carrying that basic thought into effect mainly because they constitute a meaningful synthesis between the specific possibilities the GDR has for developing scientific-technical relations and the practical needs of the developing countries. Already existing teaching and research capacities at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics let themselves be mobilized for the seminars without any great additional effort. They are responsive to genuine requirements of the economic development of the developing countries in that they facilitate advanced education for the leading economic cadres and economic scientists. They contribute as much as they can to strengthening the anti-imperialist alliance between the socialist countries and the nationally liberated states. Not last do they improve GDR studies on Asia, Africa and Latin America, from which again positive impulses come, in turn, for the solidary assistance the GDR provides for the developing countries. The seminars conform to that priority foreign policy goal of the SED which, in the Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress, was defined as "anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. Active assistance for the progressive and revolutionary forces in the world, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."<sup>7</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 20.
2. Cf. W. Schmidt, "The Work of the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics in Training Students From African, Asian and Latin American Countries," ASIEN, AFRIKA, LATEIN-AMERIKA, Berlin, 1974, No 5, pp 779 f.
3. "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1976, pp 17 f.
4. Cf. MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME, Potsdam, 15 July 1976.

5. K. Willerding, "The GDR and the Nationally Liberated States of Asia and Africa," ASIEN, AFRIKA, LATEINAMERIKA, Berlin, 1974, No 5, p 693.
6. Cf. annual special issues of WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE by the Institute for Economics in the Developing Countries at the Bruno Leuschner School of Economics.
7. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," loc. cit., p 27.

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CSO: 2300

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### MLYNAR APPEALS TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Rome RINASCITA in Italian No 4, 28 Jan 77 pp 11-12

[Article by Franco Bertone: "Prague, an Open Question"]

[Text] The course taken by the political situation in Czechoslovakia, which has been characterized as a revival and extension of the critical, dissenting activities of a large number of intellectuals and political personalities (most likely just the tip of a huge iceberg) calls attention to the need and urgency for reflecting on what has happened at Prague during this phase of the "normalization" policy. What seems even more necessary and urgent is the revival of a dialogue of criticism relating to the Czechoslovak situation, inasmuch as the accentuation of the policy of repressing dissent--and general accentuation of the use of "social" administrative measures in addition to the "political" ones (depriving a person of his daily occupation as well as expelling him from the party)--coming at the same time as repression of the truth and of police action against the leaders of the dissent, lead us to fear that things have again taken a "turn for the worse" in general. There could thus be a return, with an inevitability that cannot be postponed, to one of those critical moments when the Czechoslovak situation ceased to be--if it ever was--something that affected only the internal affairs of the country and only the Communist Party, so as to become, as it was at the time of military intervention, a question that involved the entire communist movement and the worldwide labor movement.

The blind alley into which this so-called normalization policy has turned--apart from those that were ostensibly the objectives of that military intervention--seems impossible to get out of without "reshuffling the cards," which, while not being just a fresh recommendation of the unreal and unrealizable objective of the "return" of 1968, nevertheless puts back into circulation, in the party and in the country, the principle of a reform whose model is the development of Czechoslovak socialism, even though this would have to be a reformation that moved "from top to bottom," from the party down to the masses (as happened in large measure even in 1968).

It is toward such a framework of thought that impetus has now been given not only by the most recent events in Czechoslovakia and those that have been noted, in a variety of situations, in other socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but also the beginning of a new way of thinking to which there has been a new commitment (for something over a year now) by some of the most representative and responsible exponents of the "new course" in Czechoslovakia.

The Italian edition, more properly the very first edition, of the long essay of Zdenek Mlynar, "The Czechoslovak Reform Attempt of 1968" which De Donato has published in a slightly condensed form, bearing the title "Praga questione aperta" [Prague, an Open Question], and a preface by Lucio Lombardo Radice, seems to offer some material on this subject that is certainly not secondhand. Mlynar is an author with the proper credentials. First named by the secretary of the party in 1968 to establish an interdisciplinary study group on "the evolution of democracy and of the political system in socialist society" he made the attempt under instructions from Novotny, to directly involve intellectuals in the formulation of politicosocial decision. Some other studies were conducted by the Radovan Richta group (on problems of the economy) and by the group meeting with Ota Sik. The results of these studies were not accepted in their entirety by the government, which found here a controversial aspect in the proposals for developing the country, a "reformist" plan that could not be tolerated by the system. But since the pressures for change were becoming more and more lively, Novotny "gave a free rein" to the reformers but accepted only some of their proposals. Mlynar was even brought to the office of the Communist Party secretary, and his group was allowed to continue their studies.

In substance, the investigations conducted by Mlynar's group found its way into the Czechoslovak Communist Party's "Action Program," which became the platform of the "new course" during the Dubcek era. In those days, Mlynar maintained a position of high responsibility in the party leadership and was a front-line participant in all the main events that characterized the "new course" right to its dramatic conclusion. For these reasons--and not only because he is still a participant, in that he is personally a subject of the repression--his critical comments on the "new course" and the period following it seem worthy of consideration and constitute a contribution in opening a new phase of international discussion on Czechoslovakia. Other contributions will need to be made (if the participants find themselves in a position to do something) and quite a number of papers need to be published by all the parties involved, in order to continue the debate (and not just the historical one but the strictly political aspects of the question).

Mlynar voices rather severe criticisms of the behavior and activity of Dubcek's management of the party, especially during the period between January and August of 1968, and also on the behavior and activities of the groups of intellectuals during that same period (groups whose exponents are part of today's target in the repressive action taken). Mlynar makes the point that having a good program does not in itself signify the victory

of those who have elaborated or "adopted" it at the political level. A failure to observe this obvious reality is the charge that Mlynar lays upon the government that was in power in 1968, and he goes on to point out a contrast between theory and political practice. On the latter point he comments: "The failure to understand in time the 'explosive' nature of Novotny's alienation from his post as party secretary; the failure to understand in time that this action set in motion a mechanism that the old Central Committee (the majority stemming from the Novotny era) would not be in a position politically to sponsor and direct the new policy; the failure to understand in time that the formal limits of the January Plenum decisions (which named Dubcek as head of the party and kept Novotny on as president of the Republic) would no longer be understood or accepted by many "pressure blocs" that were in a position to influence public opinion, and that such groups would exert strong pressures to "restrain" the policies of the time and prevent them from going further, which would have meant rapid, total acceptance of a genuinely positive program of reform (as in fact happened).

This confined the government to a difficult task of recovering its managerial function, a recovery that began with publication of the "Action Program," i.e. with the defining of a platform of revival that pointed out not only the necessity of discarding old forms and methods of social and political management, added to the general disintegration, but also those basic lines, forms and institutional tools that were related to the new model of development for socialist Czechoslovakia. Such a recovery, as Mlynar sees it, would have been much less wearisome and would have occurred more rapidly if the party leadership had immediately convened an extraordinary congress of the party (which was instead held later at the CKD [heavy machinery plant in Prague, Vysolany] during the military intervention). Failure to call this congress impeded renewal of the Central Committee and blocked it to some extent at the intermediate level of the national party apparatus, but more precisely it weakened the party as a whole in its confrontation with its critics and the pressures exerted by those who--especially those whom Mlynar styled as the radical intellectual groups--were pushing to press on beyond the party's Action Program at once. Mlynar vehemently denies that these intellectuals had never even had the chance to view socialism from the inside; an obvious confirmation that--whatever the difficulties, mistakes and even weaknesses it possessed--the party never lost its capacity to govern, and he opposes any allegation that there was a "counter-revolutionary peril" in 1968. Nevertheless, with regard to the activities of the so-called radical intellectuals, Mlynar offers a highly articulate but also profoundly critical evaluation. Here is one basic criticism: "The communist intellectuals...who participated in early January 1968 in the elaboration of a conception of future developments in the desired sense were forced to act for the time being in the sphere of practical politics and were often incapable of understanding that in so doing they had substantially altered the environment of their activities and the demands that the revival movement necessarily placed on their activities." Starting with this failure to understand the fact that--as we have already mentioned--"the battle was to be won or lost on the terrain of politics," Mlynar points

up the radical positions that tended to push the debate "on ahead" of the platforms called for by the government. It is certainly no surprise that the "Manifesto of 2000 Words" presented to the country by the intellectuals and in turn strongly criticized by the party (with, among others, an article by one of its more conspicuous leaders, Josef Smrkovsky) should be taken up by Mlynar as a virtual symbol of the radical positions that had to be contested. It is no wonder, although a little perplexing, that Mlynar held the opinion that the abandonment of any kind of censorship of the press was to be considered, under such conditions, as an error of government.

The summary way in which reference can here be made to some of the points of Mlynar's analysis would still not justify our overlooking the impassioned defense that he makes, not only of the party's "Action Program" of which he is co-author, but also his impassioned defense of the party's action throughout the "new course" era and the unmitigated criticism that he aims at the present government's policies, in which he accuses them of working for the defeat of every prospect of socialist revival in Czechoslovakia, and of even seeking to go beyond the platform and political intentions of the very countries that engineered the military intervention against the "new course."

It is precisely here, on the terrain of the international conditions surrounding the "Czechoslovak question" that Mlynar gives in his book a recommendation that concerns us today: the possibility of an intervention in the international labor movement, and especially that of the socialist countries (primarily the USSR) to resolve "the question." Mlynar begins by criticizing the unilateral nature of those who (and he was one of them at the time) considered the reforms set forth in the "Action Program" and, generally speaking, the entire "new course" revival movement as an internal affair, concerning only Czechoslovakia, and that all that was needed was open reaffirmation of the intangibility of the foundations chosen by the country's foreign policy as a means of relieving the anxieties or allaying the possible suspicions of the country's allies. This, Mlynar now affirms, was a serious error, even though he refutes the accusation that it was an "error in the direction of the right" (and here he offers as testimony the fact that the man who wrote the chapter on international policy for the "Action Program" was Pavel Auersperg, who was certainly no "revisionist" but was, on the contrary, a personality that even the Warsaw Pact countries and the present party leadership regarded as a "true internationalist"). Says Mlynar: "It was not so much a matter of knowing if a counterrevolutionary situation existed in Czechoslovakia as it was the reality that, under the influence exercised by the Czechoslovak revival movement this could, in some of the socialist countries, reinforce tendencies that the government of such countries would not regard itself as capable of controlling...."

Naturally, comments Mlynar, some of the allies of the Soviet Union experienced concern and suspicion involving the area of ideology, but he insists that these "were not the decisive factors in sharpening the confrontation and

bringing about armed intervention." Finally, Mlynar insists that "one cannot question that the Soviet Government originally intended to have recourse to other alternatives" and invokes the clear evidence of historic documents to show how "opinions favoring intervention finally triumphed," especially after the negotiations at Cierna nad Tisou and at Bratislava.

Here Mlynar reaches the conclusion of his essay by calling attention to a situation that still actually needs to be clarified and studied: the fact that after the military intervention the Soviet government not only recognized the leadership of Dubcek as head of the party and head of government but that beginning in September 1968 (with the Moscow negotiations) and continuing until April 1969 (when Dubcek was removed from his post) the "Action Program" was still--in modified form--the basis of party and governmental activity. The fact is--as Mlynar concludes and which is not difficult to accept--that the armed intervention, which broke every rule of the laws of revolution, finally set in motion an internal dynamic whose outcome has been considerably different and of greater magnitude than was anticipated by the objectives of the Warsaw Pact countries. "I am not convinced," writes Mlynar, "that the political development that afterward occurred in Czechoslovakia was merely or even predominantly the result of outside pressure...the five Warsaw Pact countries would have been compelled to rely on the more reactionary and conservative elements of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, elements that in the final analysis promoted growth in a direction that had not originally seemed desirable, even to those five countries."

Finally, Mlynar maintains that "To the degree that one insists that the other socialist countries had the right in 1968 to intervene in the affairs of our country...they would still have such a right today and, in a certain sense, even the duty...." Thus, he attacks the "noninterference" theory and urgently appeals to the international communist movement to intervene along two courses of action: 1) to block the "normalization" policy, ending repression and forcing the Czechoslovak Government to take a different line of action; 2) to make an authentic analysis of those events that led to the attempt to achieve the "new course" in Czechoslovakia and then to its repression.

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CSO: 3104

## EAST GERMANY

### JANUARY 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 77 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 1, Jan 77, signed to press 16 Dec 76, pp 1-128: "Active Trustee of Workers' Interests." Translations and/or summaries of the interview and of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review/

[Text] Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB) National Executive, notes in an interview with EINHEIT (issue No 1-77): "Active support for the consistent and unreserved fulfillment of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress aimed at the benefit of the people, and particularly for the implementation of the main task according to plan, is viewed by the trade unions as the primary concern of the representatives of trade union interests." In order to prove themselves as trustees of the interests of the working people, the trade unions know that they must actively participate in the shaping of the developed socialist society. It is a characteristic of our society that innumerable brigades work on the basis of demanding cultural and educational plans, that they continue their political and vocational education and that they develop a rich spiritual-cultural life.

Within this context, the column titled "The Topic" takes up questions of the development of the personality and discusses in four contributions topical problems of the socialist way of life. Bernd Bittighoefer, Gunnar Winkler, Artur Meier, Gerhard Wenzke, Henning Schleiff and Manfred Krueger examine theoretical and practical aspects of this topic and prove that conscientious, honest and socially useful work represents the core of the socialist way of life.

Additionally, EINHEIT sums up the results of the conference of GDR social scientists organized by the SED Central Committee at the end of November in Berlin [see summary of article by Erwin Gutzmann et al of the SED Central Committee]. Other contributions are devoted to the struggle for scientific-technical top performance [see summary of article by Wolfgang Biermann, director general, VEB Carl Zeiss, Jena] and to the main goals



of the 1977 economic plan /see translation of article by Heinz Klopfer, State Planning Commission/. The lead commentary in the issue, "The 60th Year of the New Era" /by Frank Joachim Herrmann, SED Central Committee/, is oriented toward the anniversary of the October Revolution.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE ANALYZED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 1, Jan 77 signed to press 16 Dec 76  
pp 25-33

[Article by Prof Dr Bernd Bittighoefer, head, Scientific Communism  
Department, SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism:  
"Socialist Way of Life--Achievement and Task"]

[Text] The socialist way of life is a historical achievement of socialism. It is based on the socialist method of production and comprises man's activities and ways of shaping his life in all essential spheres and relationships of his social and personal life in accordance with the ideology and morality of the working class. Its core is socialist work, from which issue forth the decisive impulses for the entire process of shaping life, in particular for the democratic activism of the citizens. A characteristic trait of the socialist way of life is the continual raising of the material and spiritual living standards of the people on the basis of a stable growth of the economy.

To create a truly humane way of life, which is characterized by opportunity for all workers to develop their creative powers and their personalities in every respect, free from exploitation and suppression, to live in their communities lives rich in cultural values and general happiness--that is the essential part of the worldwide historical mission of the working class. The question of the way of life is the focal point in today's contest between socialism and imperialism. Because it is here, in the people's way of life, that we see most vividly and perceptibly revealed what opportunities a certain social order has to offer its workers and all other working people, so as to create for themselves lives that are meaningful and in accord with their growing material and cultural needs and interests.

The SED's party program is the first document by our party to formulate in a special article the task of shaping the socialist way of life in the course of building the developed socialist society. The article reads: "The SED shall endeavor to promote social ways of life and individual conduct characteristic of the developed socialist society, to extend more

and more into all spheres of life--at work and in times of leisure, in the work collectives and in the families, as well as in all customs of the people. The socialist way of life is based on the socialist way of production and comprises the continuous raising of the people's material and spiritual standards of living."<sup>1</sup>

In justifying this nature of the socialist way of life and the task of developing it further, the SED bases itself on the fundamental realizations of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as on our own experiences and the practical experiences and theoretical realizations of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties. Marx and Engels have already proven that the people's way of life and the fundamental social quality of their entire activities is conditioned above all by the prevailing methods of production, and that it is distinguished by class character. Let us quote only two items from the abundance of possible references.

In the "German Ideology" Marx and Engels wrote: "The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the means of subsistence they actually find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce."<sup>2</sup> In another context Marx elucidates the class character of the way of life: "In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class."<sup>3</sup>

In all social orders that are built on the principle of private ownership of the means of production, and the class antagonism that this entails, there cannot be one identical mode of life for all members of its society. Thus the contrast of capital and labor is reflected in the contrast of bourgeois and proletarian ways of life. This fact cannot be hushed up by such bourgeois loose talk as, for instance, of "social partnership" or "equality of opportunities." In the FRG alone, about 1 million people are refused the elementary right to work, hundreds of thousands of youngsters coming out of school cannot find apprentice positions, thousands are thrown into the streets on completion of their vocational education, others again are not permitted to take up work for which they have qualified due to the scandalous practice of work prohibitions. Particularly for women there are still, as before, no equal wages for equal work; they are the first to be "rationalized" out of the enterprises; they are worst off as regards exposure to tyranny, humiliation and human degradation. Under capitalist conditions, innumerable workers have no way of participating in the cultural life; people over 45 are pushed aside as so much

"scrap." All this has serious consequences also for relations within the family, especially in workers' families. The permanent uncertainty of one's means of existence and the many deprivations resulting from long-term unemployment create irritations and tensions between family members, which in not a few cases leads to the break-up of the family unit. Many unemployed heads of families suffer from depressions, because, as they themselves will admit, their wives and children regard them as "losers," thereby completely misunderstanding the class-conditioned nature of their situation.

Because of all the discouraging circumstances under the rule of monopolistic capitalism, because of unemployment and high-pressure tactics at work, spying on people's political opinions and terrorizing of all progressive forces, because of the manipulation of thoughts and emotions of the masses, conducted with scrupulously refined psychological techniques, insecurity and fear for one's existence, because all these factors spread further and further, criminality and misuse of drugs increases, moral decay and resignation are spreading and in utter despair men are driven to death. All prophecies by bourgeois or socialreformist ideologists and politicians for a new prosperity of capitalism, for its transformation into a "society of abundance" have collapsed; all grandiloquent projects for the "improvement of the quality of life" and "humanization of labor" have proven to be nothing but so much smoke and sham. A qualitative change of the mode of life of the working class and of all other working people presupposes a qualitative change in the ways and methods of production, namely, a socialist transformation of society as the result of a socialist revolution, and only possible as the achievement of the working class led by a Marxist-Leninist party and its allies.

The socialist way of life, that is the fundamental way of all activities and the style of life of the working people in all essential spheres and relationships of their social and personal lives, a way of life which is objectively conditioned in its aim and meaning, its content and form, by the socialist system of production, shaped in its spiritual content by the ideology and morality of the working class and safeguarded by the socialist state. It is a way of life where the working man is the measure of all things.

The working class, under the leadership of the SED, is the decisive social force which shapes the social nature, the political character, the ideological content and the spiritual-cultural value of our society's way of life. It is the force which, in alliance with all other working people, creates the preconditions for the further evolution of the socialist mode of life, the preconditions for a union of its socio-economic and its material and spiritual foundations, for the rapprochement between classes and strata, for overcoming the essential differences between physical and mental work, between city and countryside. The revolutionary working class proves its leadership quality particularly by assisting, in the course of and simultaneously with its own development, all other working people in

developing their creative strength and to make individual contributions to the work of shaping the socialist mode of life, which, according to its social nature, is a uniform way of life.

As a result of the historically unprecedented position of the working class, its interests and objectives are also determining the political-moral demand for the creation of a socialist way of life, for the development of relations and of conduct of the collectives as well as of the single individuals. The socialist way of life is impregnated with proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. To develop and further shape this way of life, it is also necessary to preserve solid friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and to promote the rapprochement between its peoples and cultures, as well as the class delimitation against imperialism, implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the preservation and protection of peace. Peace as a precondition for mankind's existence and for the unfolding of all creative opportunities for all men in the interest of historical progress, is one of the most significant values that socialism presents to society as a whole and to every single individual. The stronger socialism, the more secure will be peace—the more secure peace, the more rapid the socialist way of life's achievement of prosperity.

#### The Socialist Way of Life and the Meaning of Socialism

Characteristic for the further development of the socialist way of life is the systematic raising of the material and cultural living standard for all working people on the basis of a stable growth of the economy. The systematic raising of the people's material and cultural living standard, the continually improving satisfaction of the varied, constantly changing and developing needs of the people, the continual improvement of their direct working and living conditions, as well as the resulting social security and safety for everyone living in socialism, reveals most impressively the superiority of the socialist way of life in comparison with the way of life of the working class and of the working people under capitalism. In shaping the socialist way of life, the meaning of socialism finds its true expression in an ever increasing direct and perceptible manner, namely, to do everything for the benefit of mankind, for the happiness of the people, for the interests of the working class and of all working people.

The welfare of all men, the improvement of their lives, has over all the years been a principal concern in the struggle of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist party. Opportunities for realizing this concern have been very different at different stages of the revolutionary transformation. The Eighth SED Congress set up as principal task, to raise the people's material and cultural standard of life to higher levels, on the basis of an accelerated tempo of development in socialist production, to heighten effectivity, to achieve scientific-technical progress and growth of work productivity. The time had become ripe to give even greater direct effect to the ordered relationship between production and the people's

needs. Proceeding from this orientation of the Eighth Party Congress, which has had the full acclaim of all citizens and which had evoked new initiatives in socialist competition, the years 1971 to 1975 saw realization of a socio-political program which was the largest not only with respect to the extent of expended means, but above all with respect to its effects on the lives of the people. Every single person was to feel the progress that was being brought about.

This successful course is being consistently continued with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. The balance sheet of the last five-year plan places us in a position to set higher and more demanding targets. Proceeding from the main norms of the directives of the Ninth SED Party Congress concerning the development of the GDR economy during the period 1976 to 1980, the SED Central Committee, the presidium of the FDGB and the GDR Council of Ministers decided on 27 May 1976 on a joint resolution concerning the further systematic improvement of the workers' working and living conditions during the period 1976 to 1980.

Raising the material living conditions of the people is an essential precondition and the actual content in the elaboration and development of the socialist way of life, which the party's economic and social policy is intent on securing. In this respect, the party--guided by the objective set up by Lenin, namely, of "securing the highest degree of welfare and the most liberal all-round development of all the members of the society"--is proceeding from the assumption that raising the material welfare alone will not constitute a socialist way of life, but that this requires rather the satisfaction and development of the material and spiritual-cultural needs in their dialectic unity.

#### Work and Way of Life in Socialism

Central point in the socialist way of life is the conscientious, honest and socially useful work which creates all values. A decisive characteristic of the socialist way of life is the further development of the socialist character of work and the comprehensive realization of socialist attitudes toward work and toward public ownership.

On the basis of socialist ownership of the means of production and as a result of shaping the socialist character of work, the contrast between work and life, so typical of capitalism, is being overcome. Gradually, a uniform life process will evolve as a characteristic phenomenon of the socialist way of life, which will comprise work in material as well as in intellectual production in the city and in the countryside, political activism in social organizations or state agencies, activities in the residential areas, in cultural institutions, life in the family as well as sports and recreation. The various fields of activity and the activities of the workers will thereby mutually influence each other and will shape the development of the citizens' personalities. Work that

has been freed from exploitation is therefore not only precondition, but rather a component of the socialist way of life, and indeed its most important one.

Work, the metabolism between man and nature, is not only a process which secures man's means of existence and creates all material values, but a process in which moral values of the socialist way of life, such as community spirit, mutual helpfulness, showing mutual consideration, sense of responsibility for the whole, are being given effect in practical actions and thereby, to an increasing extent, shape the people's consciousness with regard to their value orientations. Socialist work is therefore that sphere of human activity from which the decisive impulses emanate which shape man's entire form of life, the sphere in which man's personality develops, in which his talents become productively active and will develop to their full potential and in which men will enter into a great variety of social communications with each other, in their work collectives but also extending beyond the limits of their jobs.

A vivid expression of the above phenomenon is the movement "Work, Learn and Live the Socialist Way." As Erich Honecker explained, the movement combines in an excellent way "the conscious effort toward higher economic achievements, conscientious and honest work for the society as the core of the socialist way of life, with the creative adoption of the ideology of the working class."<sup>5</sup> Today, under this slogan, over 228,000 brigades with over 4 million workers compete for the title "Collective of Socialist Work." The "Notes on the Plan," and a great variety of other work initiatives, are proof that the socialist attitude toward work, as an essential characteristic of the socialist way of life, has gained acceptance among the majority of the workers with regard to its basic demands, and that it determines their way of thinking and their conduct. This is one of the greatest achievements of socialism, an expression of its advantages and its qualitative superiority over capitalism.

The new attitude toward work and the new role of work in the life of man in socialism, both rest above all on the facts that work freed from exploitation is work for the working people themselves, that the separation of producers from the means of production, a separation which is founded in the capitalist private ownership system, has been eliminated, and on the fact that the workers in the socialist society are simultaneously owners of the means of production as well as producers and consumers. In socialism every citizen is certain to be assigned work in conformity with his abilities and training. The right to work is secure. Not one of our citizens must live in fear that he will have no opportunity to exercise and develop his strength and ability in the production process.

Socially useful work receives high social appreciation and recognition. In daily life the workers experience that whatever serves the welfare of socialism will also serve the welfare of every single individual. This

is a decisive precondition for the further fact that work is being felt, even if not yet as principal vital need in the sense of our communist objective, yet already more and more as a fundamental need. Every worker benefits ever more directly from the results of his work due to the unity of economic and social policy. In socialism the intensification and rationalization of production is accompanied by the purposeful improvement of working and living conditions, by the alleviation of heavy physical labor, by the raising of intellectual creative demands and opportunities. Every worker is assured of his work-income as most important source of existence in accordance with the principle of performance; in the socialist society every individual is assured of social security.

These characteristic traits of socialist work constitute the essential source for work satisfaction, enthusiasm for work and the readiness of the workers to tackle higher targets with new initiatives. New norms have been set up, particularly by the strategic orientation of the Eighth SED Party Congress, toward the comprehensive all-round shaping of the developed socialist society, an orientation that was consistently continued at the Ninth Party Congress, with the aim to further develop the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus to create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. This requires above all the systematic further strengthening of the material-technical base, the consistent realization of production intensification and raising the effectivity and quality of social work.

This task poses considerably higher demands on specialized knowledge and the abilities of the workers, and on their readiness to strive for higher qualifications needed for these higher demands. The growing socialization, the growing complexity of intertwining economic processes, require at the same time more and more the ability, not only of the leaders but also of each single worker, to think according to economic standards. It is necessary to gain an overview, not only of one's own job, but of the whole chain of production, and to consciously integrate one's own activity into the process. This requires a much higher sense of responsibility on the part of each individual as well as on the part of the collective for the whole social development, right up to the social consequences of the developments in science, technology and production. In gaining qualification for this elevated responsibility and in implementing it in the work process as well as in the process of deciding on new production solutions--in which process the work collectives are having a weighty voice too--the intellectual horizon of those involved widens, their critical sensitivity to defects sharpens and they will grapple more energetically with the problems of defective conduct and other defects, such as waste of labor, material and time, negligent and irresponsible handling of public and personal property. To take advantage of the



increasing intellectual demands in the production process for the purpose of developing the socialist personality is an important task of the political-ideological work of the party organizations of the trade unions and of the FDJ in the various enterprises.

### Active Participation in Public Affairs

The development of socialist democracy, the broad development of sociopolitical activity of the citizens, the conscious observation of their rights and fulfillment of their duties in the state and in the economy is a characteristic trait of the socialist way of life. Article 21 of the GDR Constitution reads: "Every citizen of the GDR is entitled to take part in comprehensively shaping the political, economic and cultural life of the socialist community and of the socialist state. 'Participate in work, in planning and in governing,' is the principle that shall apply." Further elaboration of this aspect of the socialist way of life proves, just as the new character of work proves, that it is historically superior to the way of life of the working class and other working people in the capitalist society, where they are excluded from a true participation in deciding public affairs.

The socialist state, the principal instrument of the working class in shaping the developed socialist society, ensures the preconditions for a further growth of the socialist way of life, guarantees its citizens security in law and social safety. It guarantees, in its alliance with the socialist fraternal countries, the military protection of our peaceful work of construction. The majority of our citizens is well aware--proven beyond doubt by the great activities in preparing and conducting the elections to the people's chambers and bezirk meetings in October 1976--that in our socialist state, a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, public affairs are not only a concern of the organs of the state, but a concern of every citizen, that dealing with public affairs requires his participation, that every individual bears responsibility for managing them. The socialist democracy is guarantee and field of action for true freedom of the workers; it is one of the greatest achievements of socialism.<sup>6</sup>

In the process of developing and consolidating our socialist state and of unfolding its socialist democracy, exercising rights and duties by all citizens and the various forms of their democratic activities have become fixed components of their daily life. This refers to exercising their rights of democratic participation in the management and planning within their enterprises, as well as their functioning as delegates, jurymen, members of arbitration and conflict settlement commissions, in parent activist groups, committees of the National Front, or as leaders of family associations and in many other such groups. The principle "Participate in Work, Planning and Governing" is not only an aspect of the legal relations between citizens and state, but in its effects in

actual life it is at the same time an effective factor of personality development. Because in actual fact it means: develop your creative strength, your talents and abilities! Join us in devising our road into the communist future! Do your part in the implementation of our resolutions which accord with the public as well as your very own interests! One proof of the real everyday-life effectiveness of socialist democracy in shaping the way of life of GDR citizens is, for instance, the competition organized within the framework of the National Front: "For More Beauty in Our Cities and Communities--Come and Join in!"

The development of socialist democracy is a dynamic process. What is required in order to achieve a greater effectiveness of citizen participation in the various democratic organs during this new phase of development--similar to what is required in production--is thinking in larger dimensions, in such that exceed the narrow framework of local interests. The social processes, which become ever more intertwined, the close correlations between factories and surrounding territories, all require greater expertise, closer cooperation between experts of the most diverse branches as well as a better cooperation by people's representatives, staff of state agencies and members of social organizations. The solution of the new tasks will not permit "departmentalized thinking" or "parochialism." An exemplary case in this respect is the fact that building up Berlin, the capital of the GDR, into a modern socialist metropolis has become a concern of the entire Republic.

#### The Socialist Way of Life--A Life Rich in Cultural Values

The socialist culture, in the great breadth and variety of its Marxist-Leninist sense, permeates and shapes increasingly the socialist way of life, while, on the other hand, the socialist mode of life is one of the most significant achievements of socialist cultural development. With the establishment of the 10-secondary school, a historical achievement of our worker-and-peasant state, favorable conditions have been created for a high level of education of the entire population. Based on the successes in material production, on the maturity of the socialist relations within our society and on the maturity of the socialist consciousness, also thanks to the successful cultural policy of the SED, the educational and cultural level of the workers throughout the GDR has risen considerably. In the various competitions of the brigades, for instance, cultural and educational plans occupy an important place. It is a fundamental concern of the trade unions, following the Ninth Party Congress, to further promote this development. The workers are acquiring an understanding of works of art and of the values of art. In harmony with the main task, they generate new needs and create conditions to satisfy them: by raising work culture, by imparting culture to the material conditions of life and, not the least, by artistic creations done by the people themselves. Many brigades have fixed partnership relations with culture and art workers. Visits to special events that offer vocational as well

as general extension education has become a natural part of a meaningful leisure-time occupation for many workers. In the great abundance of cultural expressions of the workers they reflect their convictions, abilities and expectations, and also become more aware of their great historical achievements. They learn, as Karl Marx had predicted, to shape their environment according to the laws of beauty.

As regards development and satisfaction of material and spiritual-cultural needs in all their dialectic unity, however, there are still many problems to be more thoroughly explored and to be provided with more effective solutions. This unity must not appear as existing only in a social average but must mark the way of life of every individual, while admitting differentiations in detail. This is part and parcel of the development of the broadly educated and cultured socialist personality. Investigations have shown that there are in this respect not insignificant differences. Public opinion must become more effective here as an orienting force.

In the political-ideological work of the SED, to further develop the socialist mode of life in the GDR, emphasis is to be placed particularly on enabling our citizens to be consciously socialist in content and style of life in shaping their activities in every phase of their life, so that the rising standard of living will become apparent in every individual citizen's life as a unison of the development of the material living conditions and the spiritual-cultural wealth.

As a matter of course, our Marxist-Leninist concept of a socialist mode of life has nothing in common with the thesis propounded by "leftist" radical groups which stand outside the revolutionary workers' movement, to the effect that "moral purity" is only possible in conditions of general poverty and that the course of the socialist community of states for a constant elevation of the national welfare is a sign of "getting into bourgeois ways" and of "degeneration" of socialism. It has never been, and still is not, meaning and aim of the struggle of the working class to unite all mankind in poverty and frugality, but rather, in the sense of Lenin, to render the lives of all members of society richer, more beautiful and happier, and to produce a man of many needs. Equally incompatible with the socialist way of life is the desire for a petty bourgeois type of prosperity, the development of a "consumption for prestige's sake," the endeavors to acquire personal property in order to demonstrate "a special social status" and thereby to try to elevate oneself over others.

The ever improving satisfaction of material needs is an irrevocable precondition and a substantial criterion for the development of the socialist way of life. But an overall socialist way of life can be achieved only in connection with the development and satisfaction of the spiritual-cultural needs, as such conform to the demands of our communist ideals. The socialist state is expending considerable means, within the framework of the growing public funds, for the development and satisfaction of such

spiritual-cultural needs which promote the development of the socialist personality, as, for instance, acquisition of a high technical, professional or general education and training, an understanding of the treasures of art and literature, participation in physical culture and sports, and many other areas. A high cultural and educational level and high spiritual-moral demands on life content and form are setting new standards for character, qualitative parameters and esthetic aspects of the development and satisfaction of material needs. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew particular attention to this dialectic relationship at the 25th CPSU Congress: "We have made quite some progress in the improvement of the material welfare of the Soviet people. We shall consistently continue to solve this task. However, it is also necessary that the growth of material opportunities be always accompanied by a raising of the moral-ideological and cultural level of the people."<sup>7</sup>

Our own experiences confirm this realization. The SED is making great efforts to bring all citizens closer to that kind of spiritual-cultural life which in form and content accords with the level of demands of the socialist way of life. In this connection it is important to further develop qualitatively the cultural and educational plans of the work collectives. By means of these plans and their realization, new and higher needs are being created, which will react on the whole shaping of life, which will influence the personality development of the individual members of the collectives and also reflect on the members of their families.

The development of socialist marriage and family relations not only constitutes an essential and meaningful aspect of the socialist way of life, these relations, by being the most intimate of human person-to-person relationships—oriented on our socialist value concepts—also contribute to a significant degree to the further shaping of the socialist way of life. In the family the many-faceted social influences coalesce as in the focus of a lense and are also simultaneously "refracted" as in a prism, according to specific qualities such as occupational, age-group and numerical structure, circumstances of life, level of education and intellectual climate, and thereby will also affect in a specific way the way of life of the family and the personality development and life style of each family member.

Notwithstanding problems that appear in the process of social development, the significant progress in shaping the socialist way of life in the GDR is unmistakable. "Those values of socialism which reflect its real achievements and its fundamental significance for a truly humane and free life are becoming personal convictions and standards of action in the consciousness of an ever increasing number of people."<sup>8</sup>

Evolution of the socialist way of life is an objective lawful development, but not a spontaneous process. Although the victory of the socialist revolution has cut down the main pillars, the socio-economic conditions, of

the old bourgeois way of life, the remnants of that way of life, which had centuries to develop under the rule of the exploiting classes, will still linger on for quite some time in traditions, customs, philosophy of life and personal conduct of the people. In addition, the class enemy is doing all he can to preserve or revive those ways of thinking and of conduct which are alien to socialism. This is particularly noticeable in the GDR since it is the border between the two world systems. Day after day the West German mass media controlled by its monopolistic bourgeoisie are trying to influence the GDR citizens, in particular the youth, and to lure them into accepting the ideologies and ways of conduct, philosophy of life and customs of consumption that are part of the "Western" way of life.

The further evolution of the socialist way of life can only come about by conscious action of the masses, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, and the creative activity of every individual. It is our task to "create all conditions that will enable the social relations and the physical and mental abilities of man to find full development, to open up all opportunities so that man may render his life more meaningful and richer in cultural content, so that thoughts and actions of the workers be molded by the socialist ideology and the Marxist-Leninist world-view of the working class."<sup>9</sup>

The leading and inspiring force in this historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes is the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Its increasingly important role must find expression, above all, in day-to-day convincingly presented political-ideological work and the exemplary life style of every communist. The program of the SED expresses it in this sense: "Wherever a communist works and lives, he will consistently take his stand for the realization of the main task, he will actively and in an exemplary way promote creative initiative, a highly motivated attitude toward work and toward public property and will promote a socialist way of thinking and of conduct."<sup>10</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 53.
2. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Die deutsche Ideologie" [The German Ideology] in "Werke" [Works]. Berlin, Dietz, 1958, Vol 3, p 21.
3. Karl Marx, "Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte" [The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte] in "Marx Engels Werke" [Works of Marx and Engels]. Berlin, Dietz, 1960, Vol 8, p 198.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Bemerkungen zum zweiten Programmentwurf Plechanows" [Remarks to the second draft program by Plekhanov] in "Werke" [Works]. Berlin, Dietz, 1956, Vol 6, p 40.

5. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Party Congress, Rapporteur: Erich Honecker]. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 115.
6. Cf. Herbert Steininger, Freedom for Whom and For What? in the present issue of this magazine, pp 87 ff.
7. Twenty-Fifth CPSU Party Congress. Accounting Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Next Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Politics. Rapporteur: L. I. Brezhnev. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 96.
8. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaft" [The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences]. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 47.
9. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, p 22.
10. Ibid., p 67.

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CONDITIONS ANALYZED FOR SHAPING OF SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

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[Article by Prof Dr Gunnar Winkler, head, Social Policy Department, Fritz Heckert Trade Union College at National Executive of Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Main Task and Socialist Way of Life"]

[Text] Starting out by explaining why realization of the main task is a fundamental aspect of the future shaping of the socialist way of life, the author takes up the following problems: realization of the principle of distribution according to contribution and development of the socialist way of conduct; economic growth--improved living conditions, changes in the structure of needs, intensification with improvement of working conditions as one indivisible task. He gives an orientation on related concrete questions of leadership activities and political-ideological work.

In its party program the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proclaims as its aim, "to work for an ever more distinct realization of that way of social life and individual conduct in every sphere of life, which is characteristic for the developed socialist society--at work and at leisure, in work collective or family as well as in the people's everyday customs and habits."<sup>1</sup> The shaping of the socialist way of life to become typical form of everyday life, of working and living conditions, of the character of person-to-person relations in socialism,<sup>2</sup> is part of the fundamental tasks of the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the creation of fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. Shaping this way of life is the result as well as the precondition for a successful progress on this road. In accord with our policy, which aims at the welfare of the working population, our task here is mainly to fully open up and utilize the advantages and possibilities for an all-round development of the human personality and to build up our Republic ever more perfectly into a homestead for the working man. This orientation finds expression in the consistent continuation of the course entered upon by the Eighth Party Congress, a course of unity of economic and social policies, of solving the main task based on the fundamental economic law of socialism.

In implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, the correct understanding of the correlations which develop in the course of the further shaping of the developed socialist society between the main task in its unison of economic and social policies and the shaping of the socialist way of life and its conscious utilization, is therefore gaining growing importance.

Ways and means of shaping the individual person's life and the life of the entire society in its varied forms cannot be separated from the ways and means of social production. All depends on the ways and means how and under what conditions production is carried on, what products are being produced, how their products are being distributed and made use of by the individual citizen and by society as a whole. This means that it is in the field of economics that the final decision is made how all our lives will develop in future, what means will be at our disposal for economic and social progress, how the individual person's and the entire society's consumption may increase and what means can be expended on construction of apartments, on the education of the people, on science, health service, on other services, on culture and on sports. Proceeding from the main task, we have to deal here with a correlation between production and development of needs and their satisfaction, between the production of material goods and consumption by individuals and by society, between intensification of production and way of life, between raising the material and cultural living standards and the development of the workers' initiatives--to name only a few of such correlations.

The conscious shaping of these diverse correlations requires above all management and planning of the following interrelated processes: Firstly, there has to be a constantly increasing demand-conforming production of high quality which will produce the values and material services that will enable the individual citizen to better satisfy his growing material and spiritual-cultural needs. Secondly, the economic process, particularly the work process, is to be increasingly transformed in such a way that it will serve ever more directly the further shaping of the socialist character and content of work and the development of the socialist personality, and that it will stimulate the socialist attitude toward work and toward public property and stimulate any other conduct that is in conformity with socialism. Thirdly, the initiatives, creativity and readiness for work, which will result from the economic and social progress, are to an increasing extent conditions for further development and must be utilized systematically, particularly by means of socialist competition, for the economic and social upsurge.



## Our Orientation: High Material and Cultural Standard of Living for the People

The developed socialist society is unthinkable without a high material and cultural living standard of the people, for the following reason, as comrade Kurt Hager demonstrated in his report at the conference of GDR social scientists: "Why do the masses strive for socialism? In the first place, most likely, because they strive for a better life: a life in peace and security."<sup>5</sup> Socialism and communism originate from the aspiration of the revolutionary workers' movement to secure the highest possible degree of well-being for all mankind. This implies, of necessity, that a way of life is to be worked out which will enable the free and all-round development of all the members of the society.

Our concept that a constantly rising material and cultural living standard of the people is criterion for the shaping of a developed socialist society has nothing in common with the bourgeois concept of the so-called affluent or consumer society. Our concept is based on the Marxist-Leninist realization that a people's material and cultural standard of living, since it is result and condition of the ways human life expresses itself, is therefore also fundamental aspect of its mode of life. The level of a people's material and cultural standard of living determines decisively how and in what ways the citizens will shape their social and individual life; the standard of living is an expression of the extent and quality to which the material and spiritual cultural needs are being satisfied.

Our standard for raising the people's material and cultural standard of living is the objective of developing the socialist and communist society and personality. Our aim is the all-round developed socialist personality, that distinguishes itself by abundant social relations, by abundant material as well as spiritual-cultural needs and a great variety of interests, and this presupposes, naturally, a high material and cultural standard of living.

To realize this objective we need an economic growth of such extent that every worker, every citizen and every family will be able to satisfy to an ever increasing degree his, or its, material and spiritual-cultural needs, depending above all on their own contributions to society. This entails the consistent implementation of the performance principle, that is, the material interestedness of the individual citizen in a higher, more productive and quality-conforming production.

Realization of the performance principle does not mean, however, that increased income will depend only on an increased performance. It also requires that these rising incomes can be realized materially: in essential and non-essential foods and beverages, in industrial goods with high use value characteristics, in services as well as for spiritual-cultural purposes. In the unity of its various aspects, the consistent implementation of the performance principle will stimulate the willingness to perform, readiness to perform on the part of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other working people. It will also accelerate the general realization that a good piece of work will bring its reward and will lead to an ever improving satisfaction of the material and spiritual-cultural needs, a more meaningful life and toward new economic activities. Realizing the performance principle consistently will contribute to develop important motivations for action, such as the endeavor to raise performances, for effective utilization of working time, interest in one's own qualification--characteristic traits of a socialist attitude toward work and the socialist way of life.

The ideological core of the problem consists in the fact that the growth of the material living standard depends, above all, on the individual's own work performance and on the economic development of the society, and furthermore on the fact that the target fixed in the main task is first of all a demand on one's own performance. Combined with systematic political-ideological work, the consistent implementation of the performance principle shows itself to be an expression of the socialist way of life and is contributing to shape ways of conduct consistent with this way of life. Raising the material and cultural standard of living will not automatically and by itself show the effect of higher performances or more effective work. It will not by itself lead to a socialist way of life in all fields of human endeavor. Only in connection with an insight into the political and economic correlations, only by knowing about the humanist aim of our economic policy, with an aim-oriented development of needs that accord with socialism, will a high material and cultural standard of living contribute to the further shaping of the socialist way of life. If we were to neglect to make the people aware of these correlations, the endeavors for a higher standard of living would not be connected with the development of one's own work performance, and it could easily happen that traits of a get-rich-at-the-expense-of-society attitude, traits of a petty bourgeois way of life, would make their appearance.

## Economic Growth--Living Conditions--Needs

As a result of a continuous economic growth and of the excellent performance of our working people in industry and agriculture, in science and education, in the health services and in many other spheres, we have been able to create living conditions as our people have never experienced before. Vivid proof of this fact is the development of real income and of consumption of goods and services, the improvements in home furnishing and equipment, the growing ownership of high-grade industrial goods and their use, the improvements in working conditions, the growing availability of social and medical care as well as of cultural and sports facilities. A comparison of targets set in the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan with the achievements so far achieved makes it evident to everyone that the party and the government are intent on continuing consistently on this road. We are concerned here not merely with quantitative growth. In connection with the building up of the necessary material-technical base for our dynamic economic growth, we are rather concerned above all with developing such branches which are of extraordinary significance for the socialist way of life. This refers, for instance, to the orientation toward rapid realization of the home building program and toward providing the population with better services.

Thus, the home building program to be carried out by 1990, the building and remodelling of homes and residential areas, will solve fundamental questions of decisive material impact on the socialist way of life. During the period 1976 to 1980 alone, the construction or remodelling of 750,000 homes will improve living conditions for over 2.2 million people. The initiative for an overfulfillment by 100,000 homes, suggested by the trade unions, will increase the mentioned figure to over 2.5 million people. It is particularly in the program for home constructions that the solution of the main task and the shaping of the socialist way of life come together in a most conspicuous way, since living conditions and environment exercise a very marked influence on the physical and social well-being of people. While Heinrich Zille stated--faced with the living conditions of the working class under capitalism at the beginning of this century--that a home can kill a man, just as an ax can, the maxim for us today must be: Let us create living conditions that allow a man to feel comfortable, so that he can satisfy his needs for education, for active recreation and for a harmonious family life.

Shortening daily working hours, extension of vacation time, raising minimum wages and pensions--all these measures are, in the final analysis, socio-political measures which, viewed from an economic-political standpoint, not only require allocation of adequate financial means produced by the economy, but at the same time these measures will depend on growth of the demand-conforming production, so that the working people may be able to use all existing possibilities of time and finance to satisfy their diverse requirements. Increasing weight in management and planning of social processes must be given to considerations of needs arising from

the changes that the shaping of the socialist way of life brings about and that are newly developing among our working people and among all our other citizens and that are directed toward a more meaningful use of leisure time. This need finds expression, for instance, in the fact that families use their increased income, after satisfying their growing requirements of food and clothing, to an increasing degree for leisure activities.

Proof of this fact is the growing tendency to buy such high-quality consumer goods as stereo sets, photo and film equipment, increased expenditure for vacations and for recreation as well as the rising demand for educational and cultural facilities.

Certain changes in the structure of needs can be accounted for by the reduction of the essential differences between physical and mental work and between living conditions in cities and in the countryside. These changes result from the material living conditions which are undergoing change and from the changed claims made on the spiritual-cultural life, from the higher level of education and from the rising level of qualification. Thus, the solution of the main task, in its unity of economic and social policy, contributes to a rapprochement of the various classes and strata and to an unfolding of the socialist way of life in conformity with the aims of the party program. We have to take into account here that the life styles of citizens and families are not identical in many respects. There exist differences in the material and cultural living standards and in living conditions depending on the work performances or on the work content, but also differences created by specific needs or interests. However, the socialist way of life is a way of life which is increasingly characterized, with all its distinct variations, by uniform traits, by increasing homogeneity of working and living conditions, by a homogeneity of interests and needs as shaped by the working class.

Differences, particularly in the material and cultural living standards, are also due to the size of the family. It is not the least for these reasons that the sociopolitical program has been, and is still, trying to reduce by a variety of measures such differences in the standard of living of families that do not result from the work performance. To a degree never known before material conditions have been created during the last 5 years that will allow development of the family conform with the socialist way of life. By increased construction of child care establishments, by raising pregnancy and childbed leave to 18 (1972) or 26 weeks (1976), by financial support for newly married couples, by shortening working hours for mothers of two children, and by many other measures, much improved preconditions have been created for the development of marriage and family relations, for the fulfillment of parental responsibilities and for the development of the children's personalities.

## Improving Working Conditions and the Socialist Way of Life

Living standard and mode of life are decisively determined by working conditions. These conditions influence the attitude toward work and also contribute decisively to ways of behavior outside of work. Good working conditions produce a feeling of well-being during work, raise work enthusiasm, promote creativity and initiative and exert influences far beyond the sphere of work.

In accordance with its humanist basic concerns, our party proceeds to solve its tasks in the field of economics always in such a way that the initiative and the creative forces of the working people can come to full fruition. The party's considerations as regards raising the effectiveness of production are always coupled with the Marxian realization to utilize whatever means science and technology can offer to change the work process to an ever increasing degree in such a way that the workers "will perform the work process with the least exertion of physical strength and under conditions most dignified and in conformity with human nature."<sup>4</sup> This means that effectiveness of intensification in every factory will also have to be measured by the extent to which an increasing production, which in structure and quality conforms to the growing needs, with reduced expenditure and combined with an improvement of working conditions, can bring about progressive changes in the content of work.

The Ninth Party Congress set the task to raise the economic and social effectiveness of scientific-technological progress and to give greater attention not only to rising performance parameters and effectivity norms, but to the improvement of working conditions and changes in work content as well. This must become guideline not only for the development of new machinery, new plants and new technological processes, but also for necessary improvements of presently applied technology.

Standards by which we may determine to what extent this aspect of our social development is being taken into account are: higher demands on education and specialized knowledge and a reduction of on-job trained or untrained work activities; increase of activities under mechanized conditions and reduction of activities under unmechanized conditions; the increased elimination of one-sidedly physical work and changing such to a more effective combination of physical and mental work; reduction of the proportion of work places with particularly heavy or hazardous working conditions; reduction of harmful effects of production on the environment, in a narrow sense (place of work, working room) and a wider sense (territory, environment of residential areas).

Good results have been achieved in such factories and combines as, for instance, VEB Ruhla Clock and Machine Combine or the VEB Esda Hosiery Combine, where success has been registered in making this approach the point of departure for planning work, for directives to the construction

and technology departments and for points of emphasis in the orientation of the innovators. The experiences in these factories show that in instituting mechanization and automation, those work places and areas deserve particular attention which are characterized by heavy physical, hazardous or monotonous labor that requires low qualifications, and that a work arrangement that merely proceeds one-sidedly from the technological possibilities must be corrected by changing the work organization of the collective.

The increasing technologically conditioned division of work processes without sufficient regard for social aspects entails the danger of monotony, single-track mindedness and insufficient utilization of the existing educational potential. It is particularly in this area that new ways have to be pursued. For instance, at the 16th Meeting of the FDGB Presidium the initiative of the VEB Elektrowaerme Altenburg collective was given prominent attention, where workers and technologists by a transition from the traditional conveyor belt production to small group production not only achieved higher production but at the same time were able to render the work more interesting, more responsible and more diversified.<sup>5</sup> Of course this example cannot be applied to all places of conveyor-belt production, but the main thing is to give thought on all occasions to new solutions according to the given conditions in order to evolve new effective solutions that will promote not only performances but the development of the personality as well.

The experiences at the mentioned factories reveal furthermore that it is our task to develop such technologies that will fully utilize the available intellectual resources and that will also make demands on the further education and movability of the workers. In these efforts we have to proceed from the fact that the educational level of the working people in the GDR increases from year to year, which also shows in the structure of their qualifications.

#### Development of Workers Qualifications in the Socialist Economy (in percent)

	1962	1970	1975
College and University Cadres	2.4	4.1	5.5
Trade or Technical School Cadres	4.3	7.1	8.6
Master-Tradesmen	2.1	3.2	3.5
Workers Without Completed or With only Partially Completed Vocational Education	59.6	43.8	32.9

(DIE WIRTSCHAFT, 1976, No 23, p 12)

This positive development must be attributed to the growing share of youthful workers with completed vocational education as well as to the requirements of vocational education and extension education that the

present way of production demands. To correctly utilize the intellectual resources does not mean to simply open up performance reserves. Investigations have proven repeatedly that in areas where work is interesting and diversified, where work makes demands on potential knowledge and experiences and compels constant rethinking, these conditions will significantly promote such modes of behavior as socialist attitude toward work, work enthusiasm, initiative and creative approach to the solution of tasks. The analysis in the factories of the available and actually used educational potential will therefore provide important data from which to proceed in the development of engineering technologies as well as for work-related extension education.

Efforts to improve working and living conditions have been systematically promoted, particularly these last few years, by the scientific organization of the work processes. With increasing effectiveness the demands of the Ninth Party Congress are being fulfilled to use scientific work organization "to render production into a continuous process, to utilize working time effectively and to create, step by step, such working conditions that fully correspond to the demands of the developed socialist personality."<sup>8</sup>

The scientific work organization must also give consideration to shaping working conditions in such a way that citizens who have so far not participated in the work process, but are capable of doing so, can take up work. This refers in particular to the greater incorporation of non-working women into the work process and also to considerations of existing psycho-physical conditions in the shaping of working conditions; the creation of working conditions for older citizens who have reached retirement age and who are still interested in continued vocational activities, as well as the incorporation of rehabilitated persons into the work process. Since man develops principally in the work process, since his conduct and all his everyday activities are principally influenced by his working conditions, the demands raised in the party program for shaping the socialist way of life, viewed under the aspect of the above-mentioned problems and processes, make new demands also on the development of science and technology and on the organization of production and work.

As evident from a closer analysis of the causes for the continual social upsurge and particularly for the economic growth of the last few years, a decisive place within all these experiences, which are of fundamental significance for the further development of our society, for the shaping of the socialist way of life, is occupied by the socialist competition, which has its firm base in the work collective.<sup>7</sup> The competition has proven to be an important means in all phases of our socialist construction to unfold initiative and creativity, as it has also influenced the development of the work collectives and of the socialist personality.

Especially in the preparation and evaluation of the Ninth Party Congress, as well as in the present initiatives for the preparation of the Ninth FDGB Congress, new standards have become evident, which it is now our task to propagate.<sup>8</sup> Characteristic of the socialist competition is an unequivocal orientation of tasks and targets of the collectives toward the requirements of socialist intensification. A competition of this nature directed toward intensification will create the material and spiritual preconditions for a continual and stable progressive development, for the raising of the material and cultural living standards of the working class and of all working people. Determination of targets and tasks in the socialist competition deepens the understanding for the social, particularly economic correlations and contributes at the same time to consolidate and clearly shape the socialist relationships in the work collectives, as it will also promote consciously the socialist attitude toward work. "If the workers in our factories reflect on how to improve, even by minutes only, the utilization of the basic means, on how material can be saved, even by grams only, and on how the quality of the products can be improved, then we have proof of a high socialist attitude toward work."<sup>9</sup> It would also prove that the socialist way of life is being decisively shaped and molded in the work process of the collectives. It is here in particular that a characteristic trait of socialist social development becomes evident: On the basis of their political power and on the basis of the socialist ownership of the means of production, and due to the social security and safety based on these conditions, the working class and its allies, under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party, are shaping their working and living conditions. In this manner they are creating ever improving preconditions for a happy and meaningful life, for their socialist way of living.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 53.
2. Cf. Foundations of Historical Materialism. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 821.
3. Kurt Hager, The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 29.
4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 3, in The Works of Marx and Engels. Berlin, Dietz, 1964, Vol 25, p 828.
5. Cf. Report of the Presidium to the 16th Session of the FDGB National Presidium. Rapporteur: Wolfgang Beyreuther. TRIBUNE (supplement), 23 September 1976, p 5.



6. Horst Sindermann, A Report to the "Directives of the Ninth SED Congress Concerning the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR National Economy, 1976-1980." Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 44.
7. Cf. Fritz Brock, "Work, Learn and Live the Socialist Way"—a Socio-Genetic Force. EINHEIT, 1975, No 10, pp 1097 ff.
8. Cf. Interview with comrade Harry Tisch, Trade Union Work, a Service to the Working Class and to All Working People. In the present issue pp 66 ff.
9. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth Party Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 70.

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EAST GERMANY

EDUCATION, SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE DISCUSSED AS MUTUAL DETERMINANTS

West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 12 Jan 77 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "Parents' Influence on GDR Youths Dominant." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT (No 1-77), referred to below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The parents' influence on the GDR youths is considerably stronger than for instance, the influence of the school, even as regards the development of political-ideological opinions. This is being admitted in the most recent issue of the EINHEIT, the theoretical organ of the SED. Pedagogic and psychological investigations as well as research in the sociology of education and of youth have revealed unequivocally how the development and education of the new generation is permanently affected by the material and spiritual conditions of the family. There is scientific proof for the relationship between the social position of the parents, their level of education, the quality of social relations within the family, the parents' ideological orientation and their children's value orientation, scholastic successes, choice of occupation and plans for the future. These relations deserve "differentiated attention" in the pedagogic process. On the other hand we may ask to what extent the schools have become "places of the socialist way of life" for the new generation, and how the schools succeed in fully utilizing the various influences of the social environment for a broad general education and a "task-oriented communist education" of the children and the youths.

GDR Educators' Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 1, Jan 77, signed to press 16 Dec 76 pp 41-50

[Article by Dr Artur Meier and Dr Gerhard Wenzke, director and researcher, respectively, Department of Educational Sociology, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "Education and Socialist Way of Life"]

[Text] A high level of education of the working class and of all working people--a condition for all-round development of the personality and an element of the socialist way

of life—enables them to shape with ever increasing success, under the guidance of the party, real socialism. To acquire a high level of education and a deeper understanding of the lawfulness of the social development, is today part of the fundamental social activities and has become a decisive social asset. The education of our youth for a socialist way of life is directed toward having them shape their present and future life according to the values of socialism-communism.

The socialist way of life occupies an important place in the tasks set at our Ninth Party Congress, which tasks aim at the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus to create the basic preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. The socialist way of life is part of the historical processes of far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes which determine the present and the future of our Republic. The socialist way of life fulfills an essential target in the struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement: "Securing the highest degree of well-being and the free all-round development of all members of society."<sup>1</sup> For this reason the party program orients toward "shaping to an ever increasing degree such ways of social life and of individual conduct that are characteristic for the developed socialist society and that are to prevail in all spheres of life—at work and at leisure, in the work collectives and in the families as well as in all everyday customs."<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the socialist production conditions and the continued rapid growth of the economy, the material and cultural living standard of the people is constantly rising. Human relations are based on true equality, freedom and social security, a situation which creates increasingly favorable conditions for the all-round development of the personality. Socialist way of life and development of the socialist personality are inseparably connected with one another, they are two sides of a uniform process, interdependent on each other. The conscious shaping of all economic, social, political as well as cultural and spiritual conditions for the development of well-rounded socialist personalities presupposes their creative conscious activity, based on the scientific worldview and morality of the working class, and, on the other hand, is its decisive foundation.

For the further shaping of the socialist way of life and the related socialist personality, education is of great importance. "A high level

of education and all-round spiritual-cultural interests and needs, a vivid and interesting propagation of the world-view of the working class are parts of the socialist way of life."<sup>3</sup> A high level of education is not only an essential component of the socialist way of life, it also determines enduringly the way of life itself because it affects decisively its social quality. A high level of education promotes social activities, it influences, based on the material conditions of the socialist society, the interests and needs of the working people, affords them an insight into the lawfulness and correlations in the development of nature, society and human thought—it is therefore an essential precondition to participation in the conscious, expertly and creative shaping of social processes. Education enables the working people to solve the demanding political, economic and cultural tasks which the further shaping of the developed socialist society demands of them, as it is a necessary condition for the all-round development of their personality. Education, however, is also content of the socialist way of life in that striving for, the need of and acquisition of education, all become themselves important elements of the way of life. On the other hand, to consciously live a socialist life will also become content of education. With full authority we may also say that education is of high denomination in the socialist way of life and is mutually related with all the other aspects of this way of life.

#### High Level of Education—a Characteristic Trait of the Socialist Way of Life.

Socialist way of life is characteristic for the developed socialist society as its form of social relations between classes, strata, social groups and individuals in all their activities in whatever sphere of social and individual life. Out of the strategic targets of the party and the resulting concrete tasks for the further revolutionary transformation of society, out of the great, demanding, beautiful but also complicated tasks that have to be accomplished, there derive the constant and growing demands for a higher level of education of the working class and of all working people, for their creative abilities and active cooperation. Because it is they who, under the guidance of the party of the working class, increasingly in control of the laws of social development and with deeper understanding of the overall social correlations, will further shape and perfect the real socialism. We therefore can also apply to our situation the statement by comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "Without a high level of culture, education and social consciousness, the inner maturity of man, communism is not possible, as also not without a corresponding material-technical foundation."<sup>4</sup>

The intensification of production as the most important means to further strengthen the material-technical base of socialism, a measure intimately connected with the mastery of scientific-technical progress, the increasing application of science in production, the changes in work content,

the growing proportion of mental work, all these require not only high expertise, but also a general education of ever widening dimensions. Under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, Karl Marx' realization that "the nature of large-scale industry...requires work changes, fluidity of functions, movability of the workers,"<sup>5</sup> assumes new significance. The movability of workers, which will be required in future, can also be ensured by a high level of general education, particularly by a polytechnical education. This is good reason to further develop the polytechnical character of the high school education, a task which was set up at the Ninth Party Congress.

Mastery of the technical process is but one side of the question. It is decisive for the socialist way of life that the working people consciously shape their mutual relations within the production process, and characteristic in this context would be collectivity, respect for one's fellow-worker, comradely mutual assistance, conscientious and honest work of every individual worker, and the endeavor to achieve high performances for society. These social qualities are the more perfected the higher the political education and the firmer the consciousness of the working people is, the more their thoughts and actions are permeated by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The level that has been reached will be shown in the creativity of the working class, which again finds its expression a million times in the socialist emulation contest, in socialist study groups, in participating in rationalization and in the innovator movement. The proportion of innovators in state-owned enterprises alone, compared with the total working population, grew from 23.3 percent in 1972 to 29.4 percent in 1975. During the same period the proportion of youths participating in the innovator movement rose from 215,000 to 328,000.<sup>6</sup>

Social relations that are characteristic for the socialist society are realized beyond the immediate production process particularly in participation in management and planning in the state and in the economy, which means participation in the perfection of socialist democracy. "The strength of socialist democracy lies in the fact that it permeates all spheres of social life and that it renders fruitful, to an ever increasing extent, the activity, expertise and creativity of man for the benefit of society. This reaches from the trade union organs in the factories to the National Front committees in the residential areas, from the Activs at the commissions of the local people's representations to the parent advisory boards in the schools."<sup>7</sup>

The economic, economic-technical, social, political and spiritual-cultural processes are becoming ever more diversified and complicated. The participation of the working people in the management and planning of these processes is becoming the more effective and expertly, the deeper and more comprehensively they come to understand the workings of the objective social laws and the more consciously they implement these laws. A

decisive foundation for their ability to do so is an education based on scientific training.

Education as an essential content of the socialist way of life has become a decisive social value, which the citizens of our Republic strive for to a large extent. An increasing number of working people utilize these days not only the institutions specially set up for their training and extension education, but to a great extent also whatever the public cultural life is offering so as to deepen and broaden their knowledge and their education. The range of offers is as rich as the spiritual-cultural life itself and we are fully justified in speaking of a general atmosphere of learning in our country. Many millions of our citizens attend every year lectures, discussions, forums, exchanges of views, go on excursions, visit the exhibitions that are arranged by the cultural association, the Urania, the German-Soviet Friendship Association and other organizations.<sup>8</sup> Of importance are in particular the party study year, the schools of socialist work and the FDJ study year. Millions of workers, apprentices and students gain a deeper insight into the scientific world-view of the working class and study the documents of the Ninth Party Congress, in order to apply them in everyday life and to implement them, and in order to be able to confront the ideology and politics of imperialism with conviction and effective proof.

The present state of education and qualification alone, measured by completed education of workers, is in itself an expression of a certain level of the standard of living. Thus the present proportion of specialist workers and master-tradesmen in the total number of people employed in the socialist economy amounts to 53 percent, while the share of on-job trainees and unskilled workers decreased from 59.6 percent to 32.9 percent in the period 1962 to 1975. Since the Eighth Party Congress, over 920,000 youths were educated as specialist workers and 370,000 working people achieved specialist worker qualification through adult education.<sup>9</sup> The socialist economy employed over 30 percent more high school and vocational school cadres at the end of 1975 compared with 1970. In agriculture 79 percent of all working people had completed their education as specialist workers, master-tradesmen or in vocational and high school.<sup>10</sup>

Special mention should be made of the rapid growth of general education. If there are only 13.5 percent of the workers who are now 45 to 50 years old who have a secondary school education, the figure is already 65.3 percent among the 25 to 30 years old workers.

Comrade Erich Honecker was able to state at the Ninth Party Congress: "On the basis of the political power of the workers and peasants and based on a firm economic foundation, our socialist German Democratic Republic has developed an educational system which corresponds to the constantly growing spiritual needs of the working people and which enjoys high recognition throughout the whole world. Our educational system is

one of the great undeniable pieces of evidence that socialism alone produced true intellectual freedom for the working people and creates the preconditions for a full unfolding of all talents and abilities."<sup>11</sup>

The further shaping of the socialist way of life is an extremely complicated process. "The working class, under the leadership of the SED, is the decisive social force which determines the social, political and ideological content of the socialist way of life in accordance with its class interests, which carries it into practice, as appropriate within the entire socialist society and which constantly deepens it."<sup>12</sup>

We may, already today, find many typical traits of the socialist way of life in members of all classes and strata of our society. This is a sign of the growing political-moral uniformity of the working people. We must not ignore however, that social differences still exist and that these show in the peculiarities of life style of the various classes and strata. For the further shaping of the socialist way of life it is of greatest interest to learn to what extent the life style of the different classes, strata and social groups contains social relations and activities which are typical for the entire society and which only apply to the specific class, stratum or group.

Of very decisive importance for the shaping of the socialist way of life, and the high level of education which this comprises, is therefore the sociopolitical program of the party. A consistent implementation of this program will consciously and systematically improve the material and cultural living conditions of the working people and thereby extend the foundations for the socialist way of life. This will lead to a further reduction of the differences between classes and social strata and to their further rapprochement. In this historical process, education is an important factor. With the establishment of the 10-grade secondary school, favorable conditions were created for a high level of education of the working class and of the entire population. Almost every child and youth in city and countryside and from all classes and strata is receiving a thorough scientifically based general education and is made to understand the Marxist-Leninist world-view of the working class. The educational system is thereby contributing to level out any differences in education that derive to some part from the social position of the parents, such differences will be further evened out at the level of the general and polytechnical education at the secondary school and later in vocational training.

With the rise in the material and cultural living standard, with the ever improving satisfaction of the material and cultural needs in the socialist society, with the high educational level of the working people, a gradual change in the structure of needs is occurring. The demand for diversified and creative activity is constantly growing, as for responsible participation in the management and planning of social processes, for creative

and interesting leisure activities, for social relations that are marked by socialist morality, and last but not least there grows the demand for education and culture.

#### Education as a Permanent Process of our Social Life

To educate oneself has already become one of the fundamental social activities of the citizens in our society. One out of every four workers is participating in some organized education. The next generation, from all classes and strata, making up about a quarter of our population, is being equipped in a systematic and planned manner with an education in several successive levels in kindergartens schools, institutions of vocational training and in specialized and general advanced schools. The uniform socialist educational system with its preschool, school, extra-school and postschool institutions is one of the largest social organizations in the socialist society. But in the same manner as training and education is today not limited to the years of childhood and youth, but rather comprises the whole lifespan, the social educational process is not limited to its specialized state institutions but permeates all spheres of life in the society. Education is something the life of a worker cannot be without anymore, it has become a component of everyday life. Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of our party's central committee stated in a report to the central committee at the Ninth Party Congress: "We speak of a high level of education, the indispensable precondition of knowledge and experience for all human creativity, as of a fundamental element of socialist life."<sup>13</sup>

As a "fundamental element" of the life of the working people and of the rising generation, education has so to speak two dimensions. One is that education has become a lifelong process. Education is not anymore merely preparation for work and for life, but a constant component of life itself, a particle of every phase of life. Lifelong education is a subject that is being discussed today in many different countries and according to the differing social orders with very differing connotations. In the socialist society it is to serve entirely the mass education of socialist personalities; it is essential in the further shaping of the socialist society. The lifelong education is here not merely a mental design, a draft document, but is a reality which is developing in our particular social conditions. With our uniform socialist educational system we have the frame for a step by step process of education, training and extension training, a guarantee for the implementation of a fundamental right which has been firmly established in our constitution. The uniform socialist educational system enables every single member of our society--regardless of social position or sex--to obtain a solid scientific and polytechnic basic education and a thorough general and specialized vocational education in his days of youth (in a way a 12-year education) and a postschool supplementary general and political education as well as vocational training as an adult worker. Regardless of the fact that today the



personal and social appreciation of the fundamental general education has increased and the period of school attendance for youth lengthened, the true culmination of their education comes for an increasing number of our people at the time of their productive work as adult citizens.

With the rising level of education, there is an increase in educational needs. Research in educational sociology has revealed again and again that it is especially those who already possess a high general and specialized education are those strongly motivated toward further education. On the other hand, to those of lower levels, education does not appear as much of a value, which attitude may even affect the cultural climate of their families and the educational endeavors of their children. As a rule educational motivations and interests are comparatively weaker and narrower among the less qualified while with rising educational level we see not only a rise in educational needs but a broadening of motivations and a diversification of interests. Latest research in educational sociology shows, however, that the conviction never to have finished learning and to have to return to learning and renewed education all life long is extant in all social groups. This trend is not only directed toward vocational qualification, as had been superficially assumed, but concerns in an equally strong measure the supplementing of general education.

In the structure of needs and motivations, there are naturally many large individual and group-specific differences, which should be given much more attention in educational work, especially in adult education. Although, for instance, motivations for financial improvement or change of work frequently dominate, it would be a gross oversimplification to ascribe the educational intentions and needs of the working people solely and predominantly to such motives. Today, the need to get a better general, specialized or political education in order to command greater expertise when participating in discussions or decision-making, or the desire for more social recognition among colleagues and friends, or simply the realization to get better equipped for one's tasks, as well as certain leisure time interests must be given greater consideration. Sociological research shows that for different groups of working people one or the other sector of motivations may play a comparatively more important role, but that in general there is a decline in the limited interest of merely gaining better qualifications for a particular activity and that the trend is in favor of broader all-round education. Although the significance of vocational qualification has not diminished--on the contrary--and although we do not wish to make light of the contradictions existing in the actual factory situations between existing and required qualifications, qualification deficits and qualification abrasion, we do have proof that we are faced today, more than a few years ago, with a broad and diversified interest in education on the part of the working people and the rising generation. Here too, the statement of the Ninth Party Congress applies: "There is not only an increase in the spiritual-cultural interests of the working people, but they are becoming more diversified. The traits

of the socialist personalities are becoming ever more prominent. They are men with well-founded education and ideological convictions, with broad intellectual horizons—conscious and energetic builders of the new world of socialism and communism."<sup>14</sup>

The other dimension of permanent education as an element of man's entire way of life comprises the possibilities that the socialist society offers its citizens in great variety and breadth above and beyond the educational system. Education is provided by state institutions and social organizations. In this type of education the establishments of the socialist educational system at various levels function as centers for the diversified pedagogical efforts; for a long time these have no longer been exclusive school teaching establishments, but are open to broad social influences and are themselves eager to take charge of the coordinating function necessary for an effective educational organization in the interests of society and of the single individual.

For the socialist secondary school, a close connection with socialist life, with the entire way of working and living of the working people, is a matter of fundamental importance. Lack of it would cut the ground from under our communist education of the younger generation and there would be no genuine possibility to bring up all-round developed personalities. Only by establishing a connection between school learning and education and such influences on the rising generation that are being generated by the entire social environment, by the way of life of people in socialism, will there be full use made of the great wealth of educational possibilities and effect given to the broad social concept of education. Comrade Margot Honecker, minister for national education, declared at the Ninth Party Congress: "Our party has always regarded the education and upbringing of the youth, their preparation for the communist future, as a social concern. It is not only that the tasks of the school, objectives and content of education and upbringing are determined by the objectives and tasks of society, we have also always assumed that the totality of social conditions affects the development of man, affects his consciousness and his conduct."<sup>15</sup>

It is easy to follow the development which shows that as the developed socialist society is being further shaped, education, even if organized in established institutions as in the schools, becomes more and more a public concern. About 610,000 mothers and fathers are active in parent advisory boards and parent activist groups at the schools, this is more than one quarter of all parents. There is also growing participation of social forces in the extra-curricular work of the schools. About 30 percent of the leaders in study groups are workers, cooperative farmers and other working people, their share is particularly high in study groups that are oriented more toward technical and productive activities.

Schools are more than ever striving to extend their connections to institutions in their social environment, to which we justifiably ascribe strong educational influences: theaters, clubs, pioneer and culture houses, libraries, museums, centers for young engineers, scientists or tourists, science and art associations and other institutions. On the other hand, educational institutions outside of schools are also eager for direct activities at the schools. In this area too we should make concentrated and organized use of the many possibilities of social educational institutions, and in doing so overcome certain social contradictions. For instance, research has shown that particularly the weaker students are less likely to visit events from which they might benefit educationally, while good students, who usually enjoy an education-friendly atmosphere at home, will attend such events voluntarily at an above-average rate. The schools, and above all also other cultural institutions in the area should make more concentrated efforts to adjust social differences in the spiritual-cultural sphere.

The core for a true understanding of the social character of the educational process is the establishment of a link between productive work and teaching, a close connection between school and factory. Today the delimitation between work sphere and educational sphere has become more fluid at all levels, be it adult education or education of the youth. To achieve a practice-related general education and to further develop the polytechnical character of the socialist school, it will be decisive to establish a genuine symbiosis of the organized learning process of the youths and their productive work.<sup>16</sup> This process will be stepped up following the Ninth SED Congress, and in doing so we can build on what has already been achieved in the past, because in the meantime almost 1 million students are receiving their polytechnical education in over 4,000 factories. That the education and upbringing of the youth has become a genuine social concern, a component of the way of life and work of the working people, is also being brought home by the 30,000 monitors in the factories, over 60 percent of them skilled workers and master-craftsmen.

In this way the working class exercises a direct influence on the education and upbringing of the rising generation. It is not only left to school education, upbringing in the family and the public social institutions to transmit the working class world-view, moral values and political convictions to our youth, but the working class itself has taken the task of communist upbringing and high-level close-to-life education into its own hands. Sociological research could also prove that essential values and norms of the working class, such as solidarity, collectivism, willingness to work and ambition to perform well have become standards of conduct for the majority of the youths. The direct influence of the workers--in the family, at school, through youth and children's organizations and particularly in the factories--is in this respect of incomparable value.

## Educating the Youth for the Socialist Way of Life

The new way of life of the socialist society is a necessary precondition and a decisive condition for the communist education, but also one of its most important objectives. The way the working people establish their social relations, what values and needs they develop and how they satisfy these needs, how they deal with the circumstances of their life and what areas they open up for their social activities—all these are the conditions of their own upbringing and education as well as those of their children.

"The relations of men to each other, their attitude toward our cause, to their work, their way of life—all this develops to the degree to which they will participate in shaping our socialist society. To start out from this fact is not an abstract proposition for the educational practice. To ignore that the development of man is a concrete historical process can lead to the oversimplified concept that a young man who has completed his school education is thereby fully educated the communist way, or to the assumption that communist education is a matter of the future."<sup>17</sup>

It is correct to say that the way of life is the "practical determinant" of education,<sup>18</sup> since the way of life is the source of direct social experience without which education and upbringing would be cut off from the actual practical life of the society. From a person's earliest days, the way of life within the family, in the neighborhood in the territory, then soon also in social organizations such as kindergartens and schools, has demonstrably a great influence on the entire development of the personality and on its upbringing and education.

Pedagogical, psychological and recent education and youth-related sociological research, for instance, has proven beyond doubt the lasting influences that the material and spiritual conditions of the family has on the development and education of the rising generation. There is scientific proof for the connections between the social position of the parents, their occupational activities and as a rule connected therewith the level of their education and qualifications, the structure and quality of the family's social relations, the ideological attitudes of the parents and again connected therewith their values and norms, the whole material, cultural level of the family's way of life, on the one hand, and on the other hand the value orientations, scholastic successes, educational aspirations, occupational choices and future plans of their children. These connections deserve "differentiated attention" in the pedagogical process. It is also well known to what a high degree the school itself has become one of the vital conditions in the development of the younger generation, and how far-reaching the school, as a social organization, determines their everyday activities and the extent and direction of their social activities. From education-related sociological research we have reliable knowledge what sustained effect the school

has on the success of its graduates in the various spheres of social life, and to what degree the school has been successful in raising the future producers, citizens and cultured personalities. Beyond that we may, however, ask to what degree the school itself has become a place for the socialist way of life for the rising generation and how it may be possible to utilize the great variety of influences of the social environment for the broad general education and a concentrated communist education of the children and youths. "In our pedagogical work it has proven necessary to start out from an analysis of these processes and to examine the conditions in a more differentiated manner as to what determines the process of consciousness-building in the youths. The essence of this task must be to expose thoroughly the real conditions of the progressive development of the rising generation and to utilize these revelations comprehensively, while at the same time taking care to retrain extensively any unfavorable influences that may still be prevalent. A number of problems, such as development of the social relations and the living standard, the level of culture and education, the whole pedagogical situation in the school, the role of the family, the socialist public of the residential area, the question of friendship and leisure time, the effects of the mass media, and so on, must be given further thought in order to elaborate theoretical and empirical points of departure."<sup>19</sup>

In recent times the request to utilize more efficiently the new elements in our way of life for the purposes of education and upbringing has been repeatedly made with great emphasis. Basically it amounts here to endeavors to open up and make ever more effective use for the benefit of organized education of the various influences of the socialist environment, which comprises some influences which in the past had been spontaneous. No one, therefore, expects that the new way of life of man will grow spontaneously, not even in future, out of the presently extant conditions. Apart from other factors, it requires a concentrated education to shape the qualitatively new traits of the way of life in socialism. Especially the youth has to be provided with "a scientific picture of socialism and communism and the superiority of the new order and its way of life."<sup>20</sup> Education for the socialist way of life means exerting influences that conform with the basic moral and ideological values of the working class, on the shaping of the social relations of man, on the formation of their value orientations, norms of conduct and needs, as well as on the way of satisfying their needs and the extent and direction of their social activities, while strictly observing their real conditions of life and fully utilizing all progressive tendencies in their social environment.

The education of the youth for the socialist way of life, therefore, basically amounts to enabling the rising generation to shape all spheres of their present and future existence appropriately in accordance with the values of socialism-communism. First of all this comprises the shaping of all social relations, be it at work, in sociopolitical

activity and organized education or in leisure time and in any more personal sphere. To be able to live the socialist way means to be able to arrange one's everyday conduct, in whatever sphere of life, according to such values of our society as, for instance, collectivity, creativity, honest, conscientious, socially useful and meaningful work, equality of rights, responsible democratic participation in public affairs, healthy habits of life, education and culture, and at the same time to be able to assess, critically and self-critically, any deficiencies, defects and obstacles.

To live the socialist way is therefore also a social learning process, on which education should take a concentrated influence. Providing the fundamental political, moral and esthetic values of our society, development of stable, sensible needs concerning work, but also concerning other spheres of life, for instance, leisure time and habits of consumption, forming sufficiently wide and meaningful social relations and activities, in general formation of a characteristic basic attitude toward one's own conditions and circumstances of life--all these are tasks which are a concern of education for the socialist way of life.

To build up a socially valuable motivation for productive work among the school children is not possible by verbal means alone, but is best developed in the process of productive work itself, provided that the objective conditions in the particular work process are favorable for the development for such a motivation and provided that the political-ideological education, in particular education toward a communist work morality, will be given here in a purposeful way. To live in a certain way is not learned by instruction alone, but rather by the unity and combination of instruction, practical exercise and

Especially young people look in their social environment for models for their everyday conduct and they learn to live in a certain way by identification, imitation, trial and error, also, of course, by rational discernment. In their education to a socialist way of life it is therefore of such great importance to have them form in actual practice such social relations that will conform to the values and norms of our society. All fields of social activity must be utilized for the education to the socialist way of life; all forms of participation by youths in the further development of our social conditions--particularly direct participation in the struggle of the working class--are relevant for the practice and testing of socialist behavior. With the education of the youth for a socialist way of life, far-reaching social consequences can be prepared and developments initiated which are of great importance for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thereby for the creation of the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. Ibid., p 54.
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6. Cf. New Upsurge in Socialist Emulation Contests. EINHEIT, 1976, No 10, p 1172.
7. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth SED Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 113.
8. Cf. GDR Statistical Yearbook 1975. Berlin, GDR State Publishing House, 1975, p 354 and pp 443 ff.
9. Cf. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth SED Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. P 100.
10. Cf. Directive of the Ninth Party Congress Concerning the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR National Economy 1976-1980. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 14.
11. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth SED Party Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. P 101.
12. The SED Party Program, p 53.
13. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth SED Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker, p 90.
14. Ibid.
15. Margot Honecker in Protocol of the Ninth SED Congress. Berlin, Dietz, 1976. Vol 1, p 290.

16. Cf. Lothar Oppermann and Rudi Oelschlaegel, Ideological-Theoretical Problems of the Further Development of the Polytechnical Character of our High School. *EINHEIT*, 1976, No 11, pp 1241 ff.
17. Margot Honecker, op. cit., pp 290-291.
18. Cf. Rudi Froehlich and Fred Nehmer, Socialist Way of Life and Communist Education of School Children. *PAEDAGOGIK*, 1976, No 3, p 250.
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8453

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EAST GERMANY

TRADE UNION CHIEF DISCUSSES SOCIOPOLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSIBILITIES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 1, Jan 77 signed to press  
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[EINHEIT interview with Harry Tisch, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; chairman, National Executive, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Trade Union Work in the Service of the Workers Class and the Entire Working People"]

[Text] This interview explains in principle why the responsibility and the influence of the trade unions have increased. It also answers the question: What does it mean to be charged with the interests of the working people? What are the criteria to measure successful trade union work in the competition? How can the trade unions do justice to the growing demands on socialist work, learning and life? What are the tasks that demand special attention, particularly on the part of trade union functionaries, in connection with the improvement of working and living conditions? What important concerns characterize the international activities of the FDGB?

[Question] At the Ninth Party Congress it was stated that the further development of the working class in our society and the growing weight of socialist democracy in the material production has increased the responsibility and the influence of the trade unions. What tasks arise from this fact for the trade unions--particularly in view of preparations for the Ninth FDGB Congress?

[Answer] The position which the trade unions occupy in our socialist society and the tasks they have to solve in the course of our planned social progress are based on the fact that they are the most comprehensive class organization of the working class, as has also been expressed in the SED's new party program. This is the starting point for a correct understanding of the present as well as of the future demands on the work of the trade unions and for a Marxist-Leninist trade union policy.

In the process of further shaping the developed socialist society and thereby also of creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, the role of the working class gains in importance, logically and objectively, for being the bearer of political power and the principal producer of the social wealth. Under the guidance of our party, their creative activities and their influence grows stronger in all spheres of social life.

The further development of the working class in this process is taking place—and the following statement in the party program is particularly important for the trade unions—"in the struggle for an increase in work productivity, in the realization of the scientific-technical revolution, in the socialist competition, in the innovator movement, in the active participation of workers in management and planning and in the further perfection of the socialist democracy." And all these are areas in which the trade unions show initiative and active involvement.

As a consequence of the growing role of the working class there results, of necessity, an increased responsibility for the trade unions, who count almost the entire working class as their members. We have every right to state—and our social realities give us again and again renewed confirmation: The working class as the leading class exercises its decisive influence on the shaping of the economy and on the other social spheres with the help of the trade unions, in the course of everyday trade union activity.

The trade unions fulfill the great variety of their tasks under the guidance of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. Particularly in the years following the Eighth SED Congress, the trade unions as loyal comrades in arms of the working class party have contributed considerably to the realization of the policies of the SED. The struggle for the realization of the course that was decided upon in the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress is again focal point of the present trade union elections and the preparations for the Ninth FDGB Congress, that will take place in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, from 16 to 19 May 1977.

In taking a stand for the consistent and unrestricted realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, resolutions that are to aid the welfare of the people, especially for the planned realization of the main task, the trade unions see the priority concern of the interests

which the trade unions are representing. The original specific function of every trade union organization, namely the representation of the interests of its members, is experiencing a considerable extension and a qualitative enrichment under our socialist conditions.

**[Question]** Under this aspect, what does it mean to prove oneself as custodian of the interests of the working people?

**[Answer]** In our society trade union representation cannot limit itself to helping obtain recognition for justified claims of individuals or groups of workers, as, for instance, application of certain provisions of the labor law. This too is important and I do not at all want to esteem lightly this task. But: to prove custodian of the interests of the workers means more, means to take an active part in the overall process of shaping the developed socialist society. Accordingly, the trade unions are always intent on viewing their activities from the point of view of conformity with the overall social requirements and the personal interests of the workers.

The prosperity of our people and of each individual will grow the more rapidly the faster we can raise the socialist production and its effectiveness. The more we produce, the more will we be able to afford. This realization is the key for an understanding of the essential content of trade union representation of interests under our conditions. To have this realization penetrate deeply into the consciousness of all trade union members in order to release new creative initiatives for the consolidation of our socialist state and its economic strength is one of the main objectives of the political-ideological work in the trade unions in preparation of the Ninth FDGB Congress.

The growing responsibility of the trade unions for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our Republic is closely and inseparably connected with the growing weight of the work collectives in the factories. The development and consolidation of these work collectives, the elaboration and realization of truly socialist relations of friendly cooperation and mutual assistance within the collectives and also between them—all these are today part of the decisive area of trade union activity. And the trade unions will be better able to do justice to these tasks, the more determinedly and persistently its leaders will proceed from the realization that the main sphere of activity for the trade unions lies in the factories, the places of material production.

This has also clearly been shown up by the trade union elections, judging by results up to now. What Lenin already considered the fundamental condition for the success of every trade union work, namely the constant link with the working people, is again today under our conditions the indispensable guarantee for fruitful work. No trade union functionary can possibly fulfil his tasks in the service of the working class if he does

not seek close contacts with the work collectives in our socialist enterprises, and maintains such contacts, to justify the confidence that has been placed in his everyday work.

[Question] In the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress great emphasis is placed on the responsibility of the trade unions, especially for the further upswing of the competition movement. What are the criteria for measuring the success of trade union work in the socialist competition?

[Answer] The trade unions consider the organization of socialist competition as their main field of action in the shaping of developed socialism. This is only natural. Because the socialist competition is that area where the creativity of the working people is manifested most forcefully and where the leading role of the working class and its increasing responsibility for the consolidation of our social order finds its vivid expression. With their participation in the contests the workers are at the same time actively included in management and planning. In the emulation contests, in the process of conscious work for the whole society there arise and are developed such marked characteristic of the socialist personality as initiative and creativity, collectivity and the sense of social responsibility.

Right from the start, from the beginnings of the competition movement, the trade unions have always made efforts to win over a steadily growing number of workers to join the socialist competition. Today, when practically all workers in material production and in the nonproductive areas of the national economy are participating, in one way or the other, in the socialist competition, the mere number of contest participants cannot be decisive criterion for the success of trade union work in the organizing of the contests. The decisive criterion by which effectiveness of the trade unions must be judged is rather whether the contests do justice to the main direction of our economic policy, particularly to the requirements of socialist intensification. The demands for a correct conduct of the contests is most appropriately expressed in our main slogan: Get the greatest use out of every mark, every hour of work, every gram of material!

Following the Ninth Party Congress and on the basis of its resolutions, also basing on the experiences of the best work collectives, the national presidium of the FDGB has determined the points of main effort in conducting the emulation contests as these are derived from the various factors of socialist intensification. In first place is here the struggle for an acceleration of the scientific-technical progress as guarantee for a high economic dynamism. In connection therewith certain qualitative factors and norms are the most important criteria to measure the effectiveness of the contests, such being increase of work productivity, effective

use of funds, reduction of costs, economy in the consumption of materials, and the improvement in the quality of the products.

At the time of preparing for the Ninth Party Congress as well as during the months following the party congress many new initiatives for competitions were instituted or proven forms of competition experiences further development. I am thinking, for instance, of the movement 'Notices to the Plan,' of the many initiatives for the raising of product quality, of the personal and collective creative plans for the raising of work productivity, of the taking on a shift guarantee and the balance accounting of competition accounts.

[Question] It means, there are a great variety of initiatives and activities that result from just this personal experience of the unity of economic and social policies, as a personal identification with the policies of the Ninth Party Congress that are aiming at the welfare of mankind.

[Answer] Correct--and in spite of their great variety all these projects have one thing in common: they serve--in the sense of raising the material and cultural living standard of the working class and of the entire people--altogether the deepening of the socialist intensification. They are intent on achieving highest possible results with the least expenditure. That is why they deserve to be supported by the trade union leadership as well as by the economic agencies.

We are of course not overlooking the fact that there are still certain forms of formalism connected with the guidance of competition, thereby impairing the effectiveness of the contests. We encounter such formalism in a still prevailing tendency in many leadership groups to engage in a useless number game instead of making efforts to enrich the content of the contests. There are also cases where the assessment of contest results and the determination of the contest winners is arranged in a bureaucratic way and thereby difficult, or even impossible, for the workers to understand. It also happens that specific peculiarities of the particular branch where the contest takes place are being ignored, so that a schematic method is being followed, which tends to render the contest most superficial.

We have to combat all these trends energetically. In doing so every trade union leadership should keep in mind that the safest way to overcome formalism and schematism in contests is to give full effect to the proven and well-known Leninist principles of organizing competitions. publicity of contest leadership, comparability of results, repetition of best experiences on a mass scale and a proper arrangement of material and moral stimuli.

[Question] Socialist working, learning and living has become a significant movement for the entire social development. What matters most in trade union activities, comrade Tisch, to do full justice to the growing demands on socialist work, learning and living?

[Answer] To answer that question one actually has to recall the whole social significance of the movement. In the last few years it has become customary to refer to it as the "highest form of competition." But the question arises: Is this definition of the movement "Work, Learn and Live the Socialist Way" really appropriate to reveal its true concerns, especially at the present state of developments?

Certainly, at the start this movement--launched about 18 years ago by the Nikolai Mamai brigade at the Bitterfeld chemical combine--was closely linked with the development of the competition, with the search for a qualitative higher level. It is also undeniable that in the following years and also at the present time especially the members of brigades and collectives of socialist work have stood at the forefront of the competition and have become originators of valuable initiatives. Nevertheless, there can hardly be any doubt that the targets which the participants in the movement "Work, Learn and Live the Socialist Way" have set for themselves--targets which have been incorporated into their brigade programs--far exceed the fundamental objectives of the competition, namely the fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of the plan. They include as a rule beyond obligations that concern the work process, also such demands that concern the development of the whole personality, the realization of our socialist way of life. Part of these are undertakings which are to satisfy the growing need for political and vocational education, as also measures to promote the spiritual-cultural life, the cultural-creative activities and the fostering of social life.

The character of the movement for socialist work, learning and living was excellently stated by comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee in his report to the Ninth Party Congress: "In this movement we see a splendid combination of the conscious striving for higher economic achievements, the conscientious and honest work for the society as core of the socialist way of life with the creative adoption of the ideology of the working class. This is the way that work becomes more and more a genuine and vital need of the socialist personality."

This characterization also reveals what demands must be made at present and in future on socialist working, learning and living. The movement not only experienced a considerable quantitative expansion and broadening--the number of its participants, for instance, rose from 2.4 million in 1970 to almost 4.3 million in 1976, but it was also enriched with new traits and initiatives as regards its content.

[Question] Where do such new traits manifest themselves?

[Answer] There is, for instance, the organized and systematic acquisition of the fundamental knowledge of Marxism-Leninism by those participating in the movement, mainly in the schools for socialist work. It is also certainly a sign that the movement is moving more and more out of the

immediate production sphere if the great majority of collectives makes plan-conform efforts--based on meaningful cultural and educational plans--to generate its own activities in the spiritual-cultural area and to shape leisure time activities according to socialist principles. We must also not overlook that in most collectives measures are taken with great intolerance against all phenomena which are in contradiction with the duties of a conscientious and responsible attitude toward work and in general with the norms of socialist behavior.

Efforts should be made to support such a development of the movement so that it may effectively contribute to strengthen socialist thinking and behavior among the working people and promote the shaping of socialist personalities and the realization of the socialist way of life.

[Question] A prominent place in the trade union representation of interests is occupied by efforts toward constant improvement of the working and living conditions. In this connection, which tasks deserve special attention, particularly by the trade union functionaries?

[Answer] Ever since the Eighth SED Party Congress and in connection with the planned realization of the main task, the extent of trade union initiatives and activities has been expanded considerably in all areas. This applies also to the important area of social policies, in the shaping of which the trade unions have a considerable share.

This fact is clearly reflected in the resolutions for the improvement of working and living conditions which have been passed over the last few years--as a rule as joint resolutions of the SED Central Committee, the national presidium of the FDGB and the GDR council of ministers. They comprise a huge sociopolitical program, the largest ever in the history of our people. Its realization is being carried out with the decisive participation of trade union members and functionaries.

To name only one example for responsible all-out action on the part of trade unions in implementing the joint resolutions of 27 May 1976 for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions of the working people, we remind of the increases in old-age and disability pensions, which became effective 1 December 1976 and affected about 3.4 million people. To bring this about, a very comprehensive amount of preparatory work had to be accomplished by workers in the social insurance agencies, which are managed by the trade unions.

However, trade union efforts for the constant improvement of working and living conditions of the working people are not limited to participation in such nationwide measures. Part of the trade union commitment is also the constant care for the best possible working conditions in the factories, care for housing conditions and for recreational facilities for the working people.

Although the tediousness and wearisomeness of work has already been reduced in many factories--among other ways also by applying the principles of scientific labor organization--trade union functionaries in factories must in future devote greater attention to the systematic reduction of working places with physically heavy or hazardous work. The trade union functionaries must insist with great tenacity, particularly in the process of socialist rationalization, that all possibilities be exhausted to render the work of the working people more productive, but at the same time also lighter and more meaningful. They must watch that appropriate commitments are included in the factory collective contracts and that implementation is strictly controlled.

Significant progress in the shaping of working and living conditions for the working people can be achieved for whole areas, for example, in workers welfare, in the development of services and in the transfer of workers, by way of joint efforts of factories and state agencies, and by means of territorial rationalization. It is necessary that the trade union leadership make full use of its rights, in this area too, to bring all its influence to bear in the interest of all working people.

All along the FDGB has rendered a significant contribution to the satisfaction of the needs of the working people for recreation. In 1977 the vacation service of the FDGB will arrange 1,450,000 vacation trips, about 50,000 more than the year before. This number is approximately equalled by vacation facilities in factory-operated vacation hostels. In allotting vacation travel--for both FDGB travels and vacations in factory-operated hostels--factory trade unions should watch that special consideration be given in an appropriate way to the particular needs of shift workers, families with several children and those working under difficult working conditions.

[Question] As schools of socialism, the trade unions enable working people to participate directly in management and planning in the everyday factory routine. How is this active participation, this expression of the further developing socialist democracy, being accomplished?

[Answer] The most important form, and one that is most effective with the masses, for letting the working people share in the management and planning of the economy is certainly the socialist competition. I have already dealt with this subject, but organization of the competition is by far not the only field where trade unions contribute to the development of our socialist democracy.

The joint responsibility of the trade unions for management and planning of the economy is particularly clearly reflected in the democratic way, in which the national economic plans are worked out in the GDR. The plans are taken in hand and confirmed by the elected people's representation only after detailed and thorough deliberations of the draft plans in the



factories. The plan discussions, organized by the trade unions, and the suggestions and proposals which the trade union members submit on these occasions make it possible to enrich and qualify the drafts that had been presented. Plan discussions are also apt to train the working people to economic thinking with political responsibility. The discussions will sharpen their eyes for the overall social correlations and requirements and deepen their understanding for the lawfulness of our socialist advances.

Thus, about 1.7 million members spoke in discussions on the 1977 national economic plan at various trade union meetings. Proposals submitted to the 1977 national economic plan numbered 528,000, of which about half could find consideration in the plan.

We are able to assess that the content of the proposals has gained in quality compared to earlier years. Most of the proposals were sustained by a high level of expertise of the working people and by their efforts to contribute in a creative and constructive way to establish a demanding, but at the same time realistic, plan. The suggestions mainly contained thoughts on deepening the socialist intensification and for improvements in working and living conditions.

The stimuli and indications of the working people during plan discussions furthermore constitute an important foundation for the annual renewal of enterprise collective labor contracts. All work connected with the collective labor contracts--starting with a full elaboration of their details with a participation of the entire labor force, their acceptance in plenary meetings of all shop-stewards, or in membership meetings, up to the periodical accounting to show fulfillment of the contract commitments--all this is an impressive testimony to the implementation of socialist democracy through trade union activities.

I would like to emphasize in this connection, however: as important as worker participation in management and planning of material production, their sharing decision-making in their own enterprises, may be, the trade union members also fulfil important functions of democratic cooperation in other spheres of the society and beyond the framework of the individual enterprise. One example in this context is the activity of the trade union labor controllers. In the short time since the Eighth FDGB Congress alone, almost 90,000 elected labor controllers participated in over 1.2 million cases of control activities, conducted either independently or jointly with organs of the worker-and-peasant inspectorate. Subject of such control actions have been such important tasks as the demand-conforming supply of consumer goods and the improvement of services within certain territories, the observation of our price policy principles, the supply of housing, the improvement of the material conditions in the cultural establishments as well as in recreational clubs and nursing homes.

Furthermore, as members of trade union innovator groups, of standing committees advising on production and of conflict arbitration commissions, many trade union members participate in planning and execution of economic and other social processes. In the elected people's representations, delegates of the FDGB deliberate and decide directly on vital questions of our people.

The right of the trade unions to share in managing the affairs of the state, the national economy and society, which is guaranteed in our socialist constitution, is one of the characteristics of our socialist democracy. The ever more perfect materialization of this right by the trade unions, combined with the growing realization of their joint social responsibility, are guarantee for their doing justice to their role as schools of socialism and custodians of worker interests in our socialist society.

[Question] It is well known that the growing joint responsibility of the trade unions for the social advances in the GDR is accompanied by much activity of the FDGB in the international field. What are the essential concerns that are today characterizing the international activities of the FDGB?

[Answer] In complete accord with the objective requirements of our time, with the struggle of the revolutionary world movement for peace, democracy and social progress, the FDGB is also very active in the international field. Such activities are based on the firm foundation of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the workers.

In the center of international FDGB activities is of course the continual deepening of fraternal cooperation with the trade unions of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community. This accords with the law-conforming process of gradual rapprochement between all socialist countries. On the basis of agreements and undertakings, which the FDGB concluded with the leadership centers of the socialist fraternal trade unions, these relationships become ever broader and of greater variety. Since only a few years ago, for instance, there develops as a new and highly effective form of international cooperation the direct exchange of entire brigades and work collectives between enterprises of the same nature or between cooperating enterprises in the fraternal countries.

Particularly effective and fruitful results have been achieved in this type of maintaining direct connections between the working people of an ever growing number of GDR enterprises and the Soviet Union. In the course of these undertakings, useful work experiences are being exchanged, innovator initiatives are broadened and emulation contest methods of promise are being made available to one's partner. Beyond that, however, numerous personal and informal contacts are being established, which I also consider of great value. In the coming years we shall pursue

consistently these and similar ways toward a deepening of fraternal relations with the trade unions of the Soviet Union and of the other CEMA member countries.

[Question] In the struggle of the revolutionary world movement for peace, democracy and social progress, does the FDGB engage in comprehensive international trade union work directed toward anti-imperialist unity of action in the spirit of proletarian internationalism?

[Answer] Yes, this work is an inseparable component of our struggle. In shaping its relations with the trade unions of the capitalist countries and the young nation states, the FDGB is guided by the determination to contribute effectively to the establishment of the anti-imperialist unity of action of all trade unions. This is in harmony with the objectives of the World Federation of Trade Unions, of which the FDGB has been a member for almost three decades.

We are convinced that the trade unions--regardless of the great differences in their national affiliations and despite the contrast in the social systems in which they operate--have common interests in many questions of our times, one of them being the priority interest in the preservation of peace, but also in the materialization of detente by means of armament limitation and disarmament and the acceleration of social progress. Starting out from this premise, the FDGB considers it possible and desirable to establish cooperation and mutual communication between trade unions on an international and regional scale. We have repeatedly expressed ourselves in this sense in our meetings with representatives of trade unions from non-socialist countries.

In a joint action with the trade unions of the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Great Britain and several other countries, the FDGB was initiator of the cooperation of trade unions on the European continent, a cooperation which in the meantime has gotten well under way. We therefore support with great emphasis the plan to hold another European trade union conference, which was to take place in the spring of 1977 at Geneva. This could be a way in which trade unions could make a valuable contribution toward consolidating international relaxation, which so far has shown progress particularly in Europe.

We must not overlook, of course, that influential forces are at work in the international trade union movement--particularly in the leadership of the U.S. trade unions, but also in certain circles of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions--which persist in their old position of anti-communism. They leave no stone unturned to counteract by every means at their disposal the increasing tendencies toward mutual understanding in the international trade union movement. However, we are confident that realistically thinking forces will prevail in the end even if the trade unions of the capitalist world, and that step by step international cooperation of all trade unions will be materialized.

Throughout its entire history, the FDGB has always displayed active solidarity with the struggle waged by the working people in all parts of the world in defense of their vital interests. The GDR trade unions have always stood, and are always standing, on the side of those forces that courageously raise the banner of anti-imperialist struggle. Such actions as the fraternal support for the Vietnamese people, for the national liberation of Angola and for the Chilean patriots are shining examples written in the book of history of our working class solidarity. Together with the determined manifestations of its spiritual alliance with all anti-imperialist forces, the FDGB has also manifested material solidarity amounting to a total of over 900 million marks, presented throughout all the years since its inception. This has been made possible by the annually rising amounts of solidarity contributions by the trade union members. It is clear evidence that the idea of active international worker solidarity is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the GDR workers.

We are quite certain that the consolidation of the spirit of proletarian internationalism, inseparably linked with education toward socialist patriotism, will continue in future to occupy a decisive place in the overall political-ideological work of the trade unions.

EINHEIT Comrade Tisch, we thank you for this interview.

8453

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EAST GERMANY

POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF NEW ECONOMIC PLAN STRESSED

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[Article by Heinz Klopfer, candidate, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Council of Ministers; and state secretary, State Planning Commission:  
"On Course Toward Main Task"]

[Text] This article justifies the main targets of the 1977 Economic Plan as an organic component of the Five-Year Plan, a plan that benefits the welfare of the people. It is shown up, in particular, that in order to further raise the material and cultural living standard, intensification--the decisive link to further dynamic economic development--must be significantly deepened, mainly by acceleration of scientific-technical progress. As a result, new high demands on the party work and on state leadership activities will be made, which are to constantly preserve the unity of politics, ideology and economics.

At its fourth session the Central Committee of our party deliberated and confirmed the documents on the Five-Year Plan for the development of the GDR economy during the period 1976 to 1980 and on the 1977 Economic Plan. The People's Chamber of our Republic has given its approval to the struggle program for our further social progress and has passed it. The objectives and tasks that have thus been established are based on the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, particularly on the report to the Central Committee rendered by comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the party; they are also based on the directives to the Five-Year Plan and the statement of targets at the second session of the Central Committee.

The working people, who by diligent and deliberate work fulfilled the 1976 plan and thereby with stable and continual growth ensured a good start for the present Five-Year Plan, contributed many ideas, inspirations and initiatives to the draft of the 1977 Economic Plan. More than half a million proposals had been submitted during plan discussions, a great variety of initiatives had been induced in the course of socialist emulation contests for the fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of the established tasks. This complete commitment makes it again very clear what social energies, what social activities, are being mobilized, thanks to the policies pursued by our party ever since the Eighth Party Congress. This is the response of our working people to the tangible results of our party's policy, which is systematically continued with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress: Our party has been increasingly successful in having economic development consistently serve to bring about the improved satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people.

With the realization of our great project to improve life, the social aspects and the humanist content of our policy emerge in ever increasing clarity in our socialist society. Everyone can clearly recognize that the consistent implementation of the main task and the growing capabilities of our national economy prove to be the decisive factors for the constant growth in strength of our state and of its international authority.

On the basis of this clear task-oriented and successful policy, our party has been able to deepen the working people's understanding for the dialectics of our main task, namely that improving satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs can only be possible by a stable, dynamic growth of the national economy, to which every single individual must contribute his share. At the Ninth Party Congress comrade Erich Honecker stated: "High performances in the service of society create the preconditions that will enable us to continue, also in the future, to realize our great socio-political objectives. Both aspects are an indivisible entity for us, because it has been, and will always remain true that it is the welfare of the people which constitutes the meaning of socialism."<sup>1</sup>

The laws enacted pursuant to the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan and to the Economic Plan for 1977, the second year of the Five-Year Plan, are aiming at the following:

- to ensure the well-being of the working class and of the entire population by continuing to shape the developed socialist society in the GDR and thereby to create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism and to continue to strengthen our Republic in every respect as a socialist state of workers and peasants;
- to continue to pursue consistently the main task in its unity of economic and social policies and to fulfil with the present Five-Year Plan the socio-political program, the greatest ever in the history of our people, with its core, the house construction program. These undertakings will be based on the stable, proportional and dynamic growth of social production and its growing effectivity, and on the greatest possible improvement in the quality of work in all spheres of the national economy;
- to further deepen the intensification of the social production, above all by an acceleration of the scientific-technical progress, by a comprehensive rationalization of production to achieve an increase of work productivity as well as by the effective employment of the basic assets, of raw materials, of other material and of the social work potential. These are essential preconditions for stable rates of growth and also necessary to ensure that the ratio of expenditure to achievement will be improved in every respect;
- to further strengthen and deepen, for mutual benefit, the socialist economic integration with the CEMA countries, to render ever closer our economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union, the main force of world socialism;
- in the interest of GDR peace policy, to solve the tasks of ensuring all-round economic guarantees for our country's defense and for its internal order and security, as a solid component of the economic policy of our socialist state.

As an organic component of the Five-Year Plan, the 1977 Economic Plan links up with the progress achieved the previous year in all social fields and establishes legal provisions for the following targets:

1977 compared with 1976 (in percentage)

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National Income Produced	105.5
Production of Industrial Goods	105.1
of these, Under the Ministry of Industry	106.0
Material Investments	106.5
Building Production of the National Economy	104.7
Production and Performances of Agriculture	
and Foodstuffs Industry	102.8
Retail Sales Turnover	104.0

The norms for the further raising of the material and cultural living standards of the people that had been decided upon by the Ninth Party Congress, will be continued in the 1977 Economic Plan, in accordance with the work achievements of the working people as per their performances. Thus,

the 1977 plan provides for 142,400 homes, together with the necessary child-care centers and kindergardens, schools, sports gymnasiums, clinics and outpatient treatment centers, cultural and welfare establishments as well as facilities for leisure activity. Last year, through the excellent initiatives of the construction workers and workers in the prefabrication and supply industries, the home building program was overfulfilled. This is a solid basis for 1977; it shows the response that the FDGB received to its appeal for a counterplan to produce, by 1980, 100,000 homes above and beyond the plan by mobilizing additional reserves.

In 1977 comprehensive measures for the improvement of working and living conditions for our citizens will become effective, according to the joint resolution of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB National Presidium and the GDR Council of Ministers. This puts us under obligation to exact great efforts everywhere, to further raise work productivity and to ensure the planned growth of production while shortening working time in accordance with the socio-political measures. The initiatives, which the workers jointly with the trade unions initiated in many factories, under the guidance of the party organization, to better utilize working time, to reduce downtime, to fully observe a 5-day working week and to guarantee a high degree of discipline, should be generalized and realized in all factories. Particularly party members should behave in an exemplary manner and demonstrate that high performances in the sense of the main task and orderliness in the production process are two things that depend one upon the other.

The efforts of the party and the government in the area of supplying the needs of the population are directed particularly toward a stable and lasting solution, toward a demand-oriented domestic production of high quality. The targets of the national economic plan are based on the orientation to produce goods which the producer would desire if he were purchaser, which increasingly combine the characteristics of being functional, reliable, durable and of high quality, and which accord with the demands and tastes of our working people. Point of departure in these efforts was to realize the principle of stable consumer prices for goods in the retail trade, for services and for rents, according to the resolutions previously adopted.

The state and economic organs at all levels, as well as the combines and factories in all branches of the national economy, bear a heavy responsibility for the continual improvement of the supply situation. Not only the workers in the consumer goods industries, but also those manufacturing the means of production are being challenged to realize the production of consumer goods targeted for 1977, and the challenge is directed not only to large-scale enterprises. We are certain the possibilities to raise the productivity in small and medium factories have by far not yet been fully exhausted, nor has the potential of the handicraft industry been fully utilized for the realization of the main task, or for the realization, in the first place, of their specific tasks in the area of repairs,



services and maintenance work. In this area considerable reserves may still be opened up by territorial rationalizations. For instance, it is frequently possible with minimal expenditure to transfer machinery and plants from centrally operated factories to small factories, where these installations can still fully fulfil their purposes. While duly emphasizing at all times the responsibility of the factories for a demand-oriented production of consumer goods, the improvement of the supply situation also depends on closer coordination of production, trade and the area of services, on shortening the distances in commodity transportation and waiting times, on elevating sales culture and on modernizing customer service.

The targets set in the 1977 Economic Plan for the improvement of the living standards require proceeding consistently from the assignment of the Ninth Party Congress to deepen considerably the intensification as the decisive link to a further continual and dynamic development of the economy, and in addition to open up and render effective the qualitative factors of production growth within the entire economic system. This is the main road to the necessary increase in performances, to strengthening our material-technical base and to achieve our purpose of conforming to the higher demands on increases in work productivity and effectivity. The acceleration of the scientific-technical progress is becoming more and more the key question in this area.

To increase effectiveness of science and technology, the state plan "Science and Technology" provides for more than 600 tasks involving introduction of economically important products and processes into the production, as also for over 200 processes and technologies for a more effective arrangement of certain production processes. This results in high demands being made on the management of enterprises and combines as also on the party organization. Among their most important concerns will be the use of convincing political-ideological means to bring to the attention of every single worker that he bears concrete responsibility for realizing the set targets and to support and generalize all initiatives directed toward the said objectives, so as to contribute to at least fulfilling half of the transitional tasks within the first half-year period. In the fulfilment of these tasks no delay must be tolerated so that a considerable rise may be achieved in the technical and technological level of production. High priority in this process must be afforded to ensuring the necessary scientific-technical level of all-decisive preparatory work and the work of subcontractural groups and supply industries, because it is these who will have a lasting effect on the entire industrial production. The competent organs have already coordinated all measures necessary to achieve the said objectives. This is an important contribution to the raising of the quality of consumer goods, machinery and plants, as determined in the plan.

The 1977 Plan sets high targets for quality development. To increase the production of commodities that bear the "Q" mark of quality by 22 percent, that is to increase their production much faster than industrial goods

production as a whole—that is an entire program of its own for the state leadership, it is a great challenge to the resourcefulness, initiative and diligence of every single individual. It is necessary, from the viewpoint of our national economy to carry on the struggle for higher quality of our production with the utmost energy because quality has become the focal point "where the majority of fundamental problems for the strengthening of the economic potential of the GDR converge. It is a question of ideology just as it is also a question of management, planning and economic stimulation. If we speak of higher quality, then we know this entails improved and demand-oriented supplies for our people, then we know this entails a higher effectivity of production and of exports... What is at stake here are conditions that are decisive for and determining the whole tempo of development in our Republic."2

High targets, particularly in connection with the implementation of the socio-political measures according to the joint resolution of 27 May 1976, are established in the plan for greater savings in working time by means of scientific-technical progress—in particular also as a result of investments—and by rationalization measures in the broadest sense. More than two-thirds of the growth in productivity are to be realized by measures of scientific-technical progress.

The total expenditure for science and technology will rise to about 6.6 billion marks, that is 112 percent compared with 1976. With this kind of increase in the means at our disposal, and a 6 percent increase in the number of employed, our potential for acceleration of the scientific-technical progress increases, and the need will be the more pressing to allow this growing potential to achieve the highest possible effectiveness. It will be a decisive task for all managerial activity to employ all forces and means of the scientific potential, that is also those which have so far not yet been employed, for the tasks of the state plan, for task-directed higher effectivity and production in the reproduction process of our factories and combines.

With the 1977 Economic Plan concrete tasks are being established for improved utilization of existing machinery and equipment. Thus, shift work is to be raised by 3 percent according to the draft plans of factories and combines. This requires that thousands of workers, among them also those that are newly introduced to industry, be employed as shift workers. To make this step easier for them—through smooth work organization, good working and living conditions, promotion of trustful collective relationships—to convince them with good arguments that it is in the interests of the entire society to make the best use of our most valuable national asset, will require great efforts on the part of the factory managements and can only be mastered in working jointly with the party and the trade union organizations.

It has been determined in set realistic normative provisions to raise the hourly utilization of highly productive machinery and equipment in industry

from an average of 14.6 hours in 1976 to at least 15 hours in 1977. The importance of these figures for the national economy becomes evident if we realize that an additional mere 10 minutes per day will amount to a commodity production of 2.4 billion marks per year, or a saving in investments for equipment of about 2.9 billion marks.

A considerable part of the additional output of the national economy will be achieved by the planned way investments will be carried out. To increase the effectivity of investments it is necessary for the 1977 plan to ensure a close coordination of the state plan for science and technology with the investments. In this respect much will depend on raising the share of rationalization measures that are sure to show effectiveness within a short time, as well as on reducing the share of incomplete investments by taking into production certain capacities, or partial capacities at an earlier date and by examining carefully where certain investment projects might perhaps be delayed. In the center of all investment activity stands a comprehensive rationalization of production, where great importance must be attributed--within the meaning of the factory intensification programs--to the self-production of the means of rationalization. A comprehensive rationalization can contribute more than anything else to conditions where more men can work in shifts on existing equipment and machinery and where the reduction of working time, with increases in production, can be ensured, as decided upon in the joint resolution.

In 1977 significant tasks are to find their solution in the further expansion of our raw material and general material base of our national economy, as well as in the improvement in the economical use of such materials. Over 60 percent of our industrial investments have been set aside for this purpose. Side by side with the efforts of our workers in the basic materials industries for the expansion and safeguarding of the energy and raw materials base, effective measures are expected in all branches of social production toward more effective use and greater economy in the use of energy, raw materials and materials in general. According to the directives decided upon at the Ninth SED Congress, the 1977 Economic Plan has adopted as its basis a 3 percent lowering of the specific uses of important energy sources, raw materials and materials in general. For this reason, any plans to simplify certain constructions, to use energy more economically or to rather use secondary raw materials are to be carefully discussed in the factory collectives and to be rapidly carried out. It is an urgent need here, as in materials economy in general, to apply norms and normative provisions which conform to the most progressive experiences and the latest scientific-technical achievements. During the drafting of the 1977 plan, about 1,350 normative proposals concerning materials consumption had been deliberated upon and confirmed, in order to plan the use of raw materials and general materials in production, which are important items in the national economy, to effect tight management of these materials and to strictly control them right down to

factories and combines. Target-oriented managerial activity should see to it that the factory and branch norms for materials consumption and use standards for the improved effectivity of materials use are carefully gone over with due regard for scientific-technical progress and that these norms are made the basis for the realization of the 1977 plan. This demand is directed to the address of managers, materials economists and technologists, but is equally directed to the workers through whose hands all material has to pass day after day in the course of production. All these people are directly influencing the materials economy with their contributions to the elaboration of norms for the factories' materials consumption which is to accord with the latest scientific-technical achievements.

In agriculture and in the foodstuffs industry, the 1977 Economic Plan continues the previous policy to continually improve the supply of foodstuffs to the population and the supply of raw materials to industry by means of deepening the socialist intensification through cooperation and specialization. The decisive foundation for a high level of agricultural production is a higher and stable output of plant production.

According to our conclusions from 3 years of favorable weather conditions, improvement measures are being provided, beginning with the 1977 Economic Plan, to an extent that would conform with the maximum level provided in the Ninth Party Congress directive. In the matter of straw pelleting too, we should make more rapid progress than originally planned. All the various measures to ensure a stable agricultural production pose increased demands on our national economy and demand the mobilization of all forces in agriculture itself. As comrade Erich Honecker emphasized at the Ninth Party Congress, "the development of a socialist agriculture is and will always be a concern of the entire national economy."<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of long-term trade agreements and well-attuned measures for the deepening of the socialist economic integration it is planned for 1977, compared with 1976, to accelerate the tempo of commodity exchanges between the GDR and the socialist countries. Of fundamental importance for our national economy are the raw materials imports contracted for with the USSR. The more important is it then for us to return supplies of high quality and within the stipulated time limits. Our 1977 Economic Plan furthermore provides that we increase considerably our exports into the non-socialist economic regions. It is now a matter of fulfilling in actual practice and in accordance with plan targets all the assignments set in this connection at the second session of the SED Central Committee.

The resolutions at the second and fourth session of the Central Committee orient toward opening up further reserves, in the course of carrying out the 1977 Economic Plan, in order to even exceed the state impositions, and to do so by raising effectivity and quality of work in all fields, but particularly by a more effective utilization of science and technology. "Our task consists in giving effect to the lead that was gained by the

overfulfillment of the 1976 targets of the Five-Year Plan and to further extend the lead."<sup>4</sup> Proposals in this direction are to be formulated in counterplans. For this purpose the factories and combines were given, together with the state plan assignments, concrete orientations on out-bidding production targets for important raw materials, materials in general, products of the supply industries, consumer goods and products for export.

The fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of the 1977 Economic Plan makes high demands on the working class and on all working people in our Republic under the guidance of our party. Highest demands arise "with respect to political level, that is, quality and organization of the leadership, from the council of ministers, ministers, director generals of the Association of State Enterprises and combines down to the factory and plant managers,"<sup>5</sup> since it is a matter of preserving constantly the unity of politics, ideology and economics in order to guarantee the comprehensive character of leadership activity. The performances of the collectives depend largely on the ability of their managers to manage scientifically. The greater is his political obligation to promote the activism of his workers in socialist competition, to utilize positive experiences and to propagate them as helpful to target achievement. Many directives, proposals and stimuli, for the organization of socialist emulation contests as also for management and planning at all levels of the economy, may be gained from factory conferences on intensification that have been carried out under the guidance of the local party organization.

It is now a matter of making all workers aware and conscious, by means of convincing political-ideological work, that the purpose of this plan is to ever more perfectly equip and to further strengthen our Republic as the homestead of the working man. The realization of our plan is to a high degree a challenge to work that promotes socialist thought and action, so that the working people will cooperate creatively in the intensification of their factory, of the area they control as foremen, or of their brigade and in this way help to reveal reserves by submitting ideas and proposals or by concrete action, and thereby serve the fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of the 1977 Economic Plan.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress.  
Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 7.
2. Guenter Mittag, "On Target on the Road of the Main Task. Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 94.
3. Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress.  
Rapporteur: Erich Honecker. P 62.

4. From the Politburo Report at the fourth session of the SED Central Committee. Rapporteur: Comrade Horst Dohlus. Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee, p 18.
5. On the Drafts to the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan and the 1977 Economic Plan. From the report of comrade Gerhard Schuerer. Fourth session of the SED Central Committee, p 58.

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SOCIALIST CONCEPT OF FREEDOM DEFENDED

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[Article by Dr Herbert Steininger, member, SED Berlin Bezirk Management; professor, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Freedom--For Whom and For What?"]

[Text] By answering the questions: "Freedom for Which Class? Freedom For What?" the class character of freedom is being clearly demonstrated, as also the fact that the political power of the working class constitutes the most important precondition for the existence and development of social and individual freedom of working people in socialism. By adducing facts from the capitalist reality, the demagogic use of the term freedom in bourgeois ideology is being unmasked, and it is revealed as merely serving a reactionary class function in order to secure and strengthen the system of capitalist rule and at the same time to slander true socialism.

In the present-day struggle of world ideologies, the problem of freedom, its preconditions, its realization under different social conditions and its future guarantee occupies ever larger space. It is not surprising that the ideologists of imperialism find themselves compelled ever more frequently to devote increased attention to this range of problems, and that it is particularly in this area that they are searching for new, or seemingly new, arguments in their ideological battle against Marxism-Leninism. In the revolutionary process of historical dimensions which is involving every continent of the world and which is working toward a rejuvenation of the world in the sign of peace, democracy and social progress, the actual practice, that is, the social life, confirms to us that real freedom of the working people requires a socialist society. To be exploited and to be free are two things that preclude each other.<sup>1</sup> The fundamental freedoms and rights of the working people can be realized and guaranteed only by common ownership of the means of production, only

by smashing and eliminating the economic and political power of imperialism, only by establishing the power of the working class and its allies.

It is particularly in the whole range of problems concerning freedom that the historic superiority of true socialism over the imperialist social system manifests itself in all its dynamic force. The Ninth SED Congress characterized the formation of developed socialist society as a historic process of "penetrating political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes."<sup>2</sup> In the course of this process there unfolds on historically new foundations that social-concrete relationship in which the essence of freedom manifests itself: the relationship of man to the objective laws in nature and society. The scientific ideology of the working class always proceeded from the assumption that it is in this very relationship and in nothing else—definitely not in some kind of imaginary realm of desires, wishes and emotions—that the true character of human freedom manifests itself. When Friedrich Engels speaks of freedom as being nothing else but "our control of ourselves and over the outward phenomena of nature based on the realization of mutual needs," he simultaneously characterizes the most important conditions "of truly human freedom,...of existence in harmony with the recognized laws of nature:" the elimination of the exploitative society and of "worry about the individual's means of existence,"<sup>3</sup> that is, the creation and development of a historically new society which is shaped by the revolutionary working class.

Our course of social development is indeed directed toward guaranteeing and purposefully expanding these conditions and prerequisites of truly human freedom. This is clearly demonstrated in the program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: Our concern is "to create all material, socio-economic and political-ideological prerequisites to enable realization on a continually higher level of the true sense of socialism, namely to do everything for the welfare of the people, for the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people...to create all conditions which will enable a full development of all social relations and of all intellectual potentialities of the people, to open up all possibilities for rendering their lives meaningful and filled with cultural content."<sup>4</sup>

#### Power and Freedom of the Working People

The political power of the working class, exercised by them in alliance with the other classes and strata of working people, is the most important precondition for the existence and development of social and individual freedom. By means of this power, the working people are able to guarantee and protect their rights and freedoms, and to avail themselves, consciously and creatively, to an increasing extent of these rights and freedoms.

The freedom in socialism is not a quantitative expansion or extension of bourgeois freedoms. In order to allow this historically new and higher



quality of freedom in socialism to become a reality--socialism preserves the progressive achievements of the struggle for freedom fought by the masses and advances these achievements to historically new levels--the revolutionary elimination of the economic and political rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie by way of class struggle is unavoidable. This realization, which has been forcibly confirmed in its topical relevance and truthfulness in the last 6 decades of world history since the great socialist October Revolution, is based on the dialectic-materialist understanding of the relationship between society and freedom. It is this important ideological question that bourgeois ideology--regardless of shade and color--has never been able to solve despite certain efforts to do so. The bourgeois ideology in fact does not stand any chance to solve it, because its class position, in this context, presents an unsurmountable historical obstacle to understanding.

Marx and Engels confirmed that: "Freedom has been defined by philosophers in two different ways: on the one hand, as power, or rule over circumstances and conditions in which an individual finds himself--thus the materialists; or, on the other hand, as self-determination, a separation from the real world, as a purely imaginary freedom of the spirit--thus the idealists."<sup>5</sup> The theoretical-philosophical and methodological point of departure for the materialistic approach to the relationship between society and freedom is here clearly characterized. The point of departure requires, first of all, to examine in detail the production conditions, in which man is realizing his "rule over the circumstances and conditions." It is only this type of approach, as Karl Marx first pointed out in his essay, "On the Jewish Question," that enables us to expose the contradictory character of the process of emancipation which accompanied the bourgeois revolution. Marx emphasized the historical merit of the revolutionary bourgeoisie for having overcome feudal inequalities and conditions of bondage by bourgeois political freedom, and for having thereby realized a political emancipation. But there still remained the contradiction between political and human emancipation, between the "abstract citizen" and the "real human being," that is, the exploited, humiliated man kept down and misled by material and spiritual fetters. The proclamation of certain formal bourgeois rights and freedoms was accompanied by the continued exploitation of man by man, by inequality and bondage for the masses of working people, as a social result of the private ownership of the means of production.<sup>6</sup> That which Marx calls the "human emancipation," the real liberation of man, which encompasses and determines all aspects of the social and individual life of the working people, and which thereby eliminates the contradictions between men as proletarians, exploited ones and as citizens, cannot be realized under conditions of private ownership of the means of production. To achieve this liberation requires a definite and final elimination of the mentioned conditions by the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The social basis for real human freedom must be gained in struggle to overcome the capitalist conditions of production. It is now, and will remain, the historical task of the working class to take this decisive step in the development of society. Human emancipation is not possible without socialist revolution. The decisive factor is, and will always remain, the real social basis of human emancipation: the socialist production conditions. Freedom from exploitation—that means, producers and owners of the means of production are identical; private ownership of the means of production is irreversibly a thing of the past, as is also the power of the capitalists to enrich themselves with the fruits of other people's labor; work is losing its character as a curse, as a humiliation of man and is allowed to unfold all its personality-building forces. Phenomena of a past world, overcome by socialism once and for all, are such things as social insecurity, fears of an uncertain future and all the forms of mutual relationships that follow the laws of ravening wolves, as in capitalism. In socialism the real freedom of man has achieved qualities which in all societies with antagonistic classes, including the social reality of state-monopolistic capitalism, belonged, and are still belonging, to the great hopes of the future and the target of all efforts for freedom.

The political power of the working class is being exercised, in actual practice, by the members of the working class and of classes and strata allied with the working class. By being a power over our own, joint, plan-conforming and conscious actions, the working class is guaranteeing and promoting all essential elements of real freedom for the working people: freedom to share in work, in planning and in governing, freedom to actively participate in the affairs of the state, in "determining forms, tasks and contents of state activities."<sup>7</sup> If our party program stipulates that the participation of our citizens in the direction of the state and the economy—a participation that assumes a great variety of forms—is to become more and more decisive criterion of our life in socialism,<sup>8</sup> then it characterizes in these terms an essential aspect of the growing freedom in the socialist society.

There are facts and figures that give most impressive information on the citizens' participation in directing the state and the economy: about 450,000 citizens work in standing committees and activist groups of the local people's representations alone. In the people's councils, the FDGB has the right to table legislative proposals and according to the provisions of the constitution exercises the control of society over the preservation of legally guaranteed rights of the working people. Over 300,000 citizens, among them over 40,000 youths, actively participate in the committees of the National Front. Over 50,000 citizens fulfil their duties as elected jurymen at the bezirk and kreis lawcourts, and about the same number are members of arbitration commissions, which number over 5,000. Almost 200,000 workers belong to commissions, boards and committees of the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate.

Only through the political power of the working class was it possible to guarantee comprehensively all political freedoms and rights of the people: the right to work, the right to recreation, protection of health, material security in old age, as in sickness and disability, the de facto equality of all citizens regardless of race, ethnic relationship, philosophy of life, religion and social status: equal rights for men and women in all spheres of the state, the economy and in cultural life are being guaranteed. We are not dealing here with declarations of intentions, desires or hopes for the future, but with the reality of the social, economic and cultural life in socialism! It is in the nature of things that the socialist state expends considerable portions of the national income to strengthen and expand the material base for these political freedoms and social rights.

The political power of the working class made it possible to build and to constantly improve an essential basis for real intellectual freedom: the educational privileges of the capitalist society were torn down and as a result of our struggle, freedom of education was gained for all working people. Educational privileges and educational restrictions are, and will always be, the exact opposite to intellectual freedom. Because intellectual freedom, that is the capability to recognize the objective lawfulness of nature, to respect it and thereby be able to make competent decisions. In the final analysis, it is the capability to reflect in one's consciousness as exactly as possible the objective lawfulness of nature and society, in order to gradually gain, on the basis of these realizations, mastery over the developmental processes of nature and of society.

To nurture these potentials among the masses of the working people, requires education and requires passing on knowledge, which has to keep abreast with the rapid progress of scientific knowledge. For this purpose large means are being expended from out of our national economy. As in this area, there are many other spheres of social life where the power of the socialist state, the power and potential of the socialist economy and the spiritual processes of socialist society are being consciously directed toward safeguarding all the preconditions for true human freedom and toward an expansion of the freedom, in breadth and depth, within the socialist processes.

#### Work and Freedom

If we emphasize that socialist society knows no crises, that everybody has a secure future, that everybody is free from fear for his working place, free from insecurity regarding his livelihood, free from fears of tomorrow, this does not mean, of course, that freedom of man is of concern only when socialist revolution has become the immediate task. Marxism-Leninism has always emphasized that for social progress, for the anti-imperialist struggle, for the strengthening of the forces of democracy and socialism in the imperialist countries, the struggle for the guarantee, defense and expansion of democratic rights and freedoms of the working people is of greatest importance.

The struggle for a guaranteed right to work—to demonstrate it in a fundamental sphere of life—is one of the most important tasks of the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms, in view of the continued mass unemployment in the principal capitalist countries. What, after all, is the reality of common capitalism in this respect? In the developed capitalist countries there were over 15 million people registered as unemployed at the end of 1975. At present there are 7.6 million people unemployed in the United States and 5.5 million in the EEC countries. About 35 percent of the unemployed are youths. In the FRG the number of unemployed at the beginning of winter 1976/77 again approaches the million mark. Hundreds of thousands of working people are compelled to work shorter hours. According to research at the Rhine-Westfalia Institute for Economic Research in the Federal Republic, about 2.09 million people in the FRG, belonging to 68 different occupational groups, will not be able to work in their occupations during the period until 1980, among these people there will be about 130,000 molders and core-cutting draftsmen, 260,000 farmers, 100,000 textile workers, 85,000 nurses and 120,000 teachers.<sup>9</sup> In every family there is fear of tomorrow. Thousands of young people are deprived of so elementary an opportunity as the opportunity for vocational education. "This condition is the reality of common capitalism," Herbert Mies, president of the DKP, stressed in the report of the party presidium at the latest DKP Congress.<sup>10</sup>

Let us be fully aware of the significance of such data for the whole range of problems concerning freedom—since we find here the capitalist reality asking the questions, "Freedom for What Class? Freedom for What?" with utmost clarity! How can a man be free if he is prevented from working? How can a man be free if he is thereby prevented from fulfilling the most important condition of human existence, to practice and reaffirm the essential powers of his human nature, to satisfy by his working his material and spiritual needs? How free can a man be if all his freedom as an unemployed consists in "being allowed, frequently under humiliating and discriminatory conditions, to look for a working place...to be allowed to beg for a much too low unemployment assistance?"<sup>11</sup> And how about the freedom of the young people, whom the bourgeois press cynically calls members of a "lost generation," who do not know whether they will ever receive a qualified vocational education? How free are the grade-school graduates who cannot find apprentice positions, the young workers who are dismissed after completing their training, those having passed the university qualifying examinations finding their road blocked by the restrictive admissions policies, the younger teachers who on completion of their studies are not permitted to practice their profession?<sup>12</sup> The bourgeois ideologists keep silent on these and similar questions when they praise the freedom in the capitalist society. All that is possibly heard is, that unemployment is after all the price which under present conditions has to be paid for "this" freedom. Whose freedom are they talking about? And who is paying a price for whose freedom? What is being paid as price?

Actually, Marx already provided fundamental answers to these questions. In his investigations of Adam Smith's theories on work, Marx stressed the exceedingly important significance that human work has as regards freedom. Work as such he describes as "activation of freedom." Marx criticizes Smith for not realizing "the real freedom, which, in action, is exactly work." But Marx agrees with Smith when Smith declares that work in its traditional forms (slave labor, statute-labor, capitalist hired labor) always appears as repulsive, as compulsory labor, and that non-work, on the other hand, appears as a state of "freedom" and "happiness."<sup>13</sup> These thoughts have become part of the preconditions on which the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution has been built up. An analysis of the relationship of work to freedom is of great topical relevance for the theory and practice of today's anti-imperialist struggle for democratic rights and freedoms of the working people in the capitalist countries, particularly in the struggle for the guaranteed right to work. To be able to work, that is, and will remain forever, the fundamental precondition for man's human existence. The capitalist social order, where everything is a question of profits, where everything is governed by the need for profitable use of capital, cannot provide its working people with this precondition, as the realities of the common capitalism show. Thus, the FRG's glorified free and social market economy is completely unsocial, unfree, inhuman and unjust for the people.

#### The Class Character of Freedom

The realities of capitalism show: freedom of the monopolistic capital and freedom of the working people are, and will always be, incompatible with one another. The actual democratic rights and freedoms of the working people in capitalism always conform to the actual power ratio between the classes of that society. The rights and freedoms are standards by which we may measure what has forcibly been gained by the struggle of the working class, by its unity of action, by organization and consciousness, by alliances with antimonomopolistic democratic forces, under the concrete historical conditions of a particular capitalist country. The class character of freedom in a society with antagonistic classes reflects content and results of the actual class struggle.

We therefore must ask--with Lenin--the question: "Freedom for which class? and for what concrete use? Equality of what class with what class? and in what respect? Any direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious evasion of these questions inevitably signifies a defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of capital, the interests of the exploiters. If these questions, and the question of private ownership of the means of production, are passed over in silence, the watchword of freedom and equality becomes a lie and hypocrisy of bourgeois society, which uses formal recognition of freedom and equality to mask the actual economic bondage and inequality for the workers, the working people and all who are being exploited by capital, that is, for the overwhelming majority of the population in all capitalist countries."<sup>14</sup>

Lenin's emphatic reference to the consequences that may result from a conscious or unconscious evasion of the questions which arise from the class character of freedom, is of great topical relevance for the struggle of the working people to defend and expand bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms in the capitalist countries. According to its class content, the struggle against dismantling any of the rights and freedoms that workers and their trade unions have painfully gained in capitalism, is above all a struggle against the power of the monopolies and the anti-freedom practices of their governments in the present capitalist society.

This has become evident, for instance, in the FRG in the sharp clashes on the question of codetermination of workers and employees and their trade unions. Real codetermination and democratic controls--are these freedoms granted to the working people of the FRG? More exactly, in what measure, to what extent, in what questions can workers, employees and their trade unions in the FRG actually participate in decision making? The realities of common capitalism answer this question unequivocally: In questions of decisive importance for the workers, such as investments and changes in the structure of enterprises, distribution of profits and price policies, education and vocational training, in all questions that concern pay or working conditions, there are no effective rights of codetermination.<sup>15</sup>

Today's bourgeois ideologists are making all kinds of efforts to gloss over the question of the class character of freedom, trying to confuse people. Thus, during the recent election campaign they offered their citizens a colorful variety of all that is to be understood as "freedom." The SPIEGEL, an FRG news magazine, wrote: "The franchised citizens, as far as they are at all interested in politics, are having headaches from all the noisy to-do about freedom. It seems a difficulty for every party to explain to the citizenry why the particular freedom which they uphold and promise, is fairer and better than that which is proclaimed by their opponents."<sup>16</sup> Let us choose a few examples from the great arsenal of freedom slogans, an arsenal of pseudo-alternatives: "Vote for freedom," proclaimed the CDU. "We know more about freedom," was to be read on SPD posters. "In doubt, be for freedom," was the FDP slogan. And Helmut Kohl, the CDU chairman in the FRG, promised the citizens before the 1976 federal elections "the freedom to be as we are," the "freedom to do what we want to do," the "freedom to learn to the full measure of our abilities," the "freedom to accomplish the full measure of our aspirations in life."<sup>17</sup>

The actual core in all the freedom polemics and a true understanding of freedom is being concealed in the FRG and in all other imperialist countries by just such slogans and tirades of bourgeois ideologists and reactionary politicians. Here we not only find a concealment of the anachronistic character of bourgeois concepts of freedom, not only the propagation of concepts of freedom of a general nature which are attuned to the requirements of state-monopolistic capitalism. Here, the practical denial of even the bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms is being

prettily covered up and varnished over. Here--think only of the snooping into personal opinions, prohibitions of certain professions, emergency laws, corruption, persecution and suppression of progressive forces--a veil is drawn over the direct attack against the rights and freedoms which the working people had fought to win from the ruling class. The freedom-demagogy of the bourgeois ideology is an essential element of the facade which is to protect the de facto rule of monopolistic capital from the growing anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, above all from the struggle for the preservation and expansion of the democratic rights and freedoms. And of course this demagogy also serves the reactionary class function to blacken the social realities of true socialism and to slander it as enslavement.

However, the freedom apostles of capital cannot eliminate the fact that freedom of the working people became social reality with true socialism. For a long time already those demagogues not only have to argue it out with the Marxist-Leninist theory of freedom, but have to face, as strongest argument, the reality of our freedom, the freedom of the peoples in the socialist countries, the freedom of socialist society. This reality is a thorn in their flesh; they are therefore never tiring in spreading concepts of freedom which are intended to shake the new social foundations of freedom in the socialist countries and to remove from the view of the working people the new historical quality of real freedom in socialism. Aiming in the same direction are also all their attempts to "liberalize" or "democratize" socialism, and to implant into it "real freedom."

We are resolutely opposed to all attempts of bourgeois ideologists to distort and slander the reality of freedom in the socialist society. The real freedom of our society and the freedom of people in our society, this reality achieved in our struggle for the revolutionary transformation of our society, we shall never permit to be impugned by anybody; we shall rather exert ourselves to expand this freedom in the course of further shaping our developed socialist society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Report of the SED Central Committee at the Ninth SED Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 111.
2. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 19.
3. Friedrich Engels, Mr Eugen Duehring's Upheaval of Science. In: The Works of Marx and Engels. Berlin, Dietz, 1962. Vol 20, pp 106-107.
4. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. PP 19-20 and 22.
5. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The German Ideology. In: The Works of Marx and Engels. Berlin, Dietz, 1958. Vol 3, p 282.

6. Cf. Karl Marx, On the Jewish Question. In: The Works of Marx and Engels. Berlin, Dietz, 1956. Vol 1, pp 347 ff.
7. V. I. Lenin, Marxism and the State. Berlin, Dietz, 1960, p 112.
8. Cf. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, p 41.
9. SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT, 17 June 1976.
10. Herbert Mies, In Our Struggle for the Social and Democratic Rights of the People; for Peace, Freedom and Socialism. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20/21 March 1976.
11. Ibid.
12. Tasks and Perspectives of the DKP's Struggle Against Shifting the Burdens of the Crisis on to the Shoulders of the Working People. Report by Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP, at the Sixth Session of the Party Presidium. UZ, 27 February 1975, Supplement p 17.
13. Karl Marx, A Critique of the Political Economy. Berlin, Dietz, 1953. P 505.
14. V. I. Lenin, On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party. In: Lenin's Works. Berlin, Dietz, 1959. Vol 31, pp 387-388.
15. Cf. Herbert Mies, op. cit.
16. DER SPIEGEL, No 40, 27 September 1976, p 31.
17. Ibid.

8453

CSO: 2300



SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

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High Theoretical Level and Social Effectiveness

[Summary of article by Dr Erwin Gutzmann, sector chief; Dr Guenter Mertsching and Dr Gerhard Vogel, political researchers, SED Central Committee; pp 11-24]

[Text] "The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences" was the subject of the conference conducted by the SED Central Committee in Berlin on 25 and 26 November 1976. Lecture and summing-up by comrade Hager, as well as the discussions centered on the task to further raise the contribution of the GDR Marxist-Leninist social scientists to the theory and practice of socialism, to the scientific guidance of society, to the spiritual-cultural life of our people and to the struggle with imperialism and the bourgeois ideology. The article informs on proceedings and results of the conference.

Way of Life—Territory—City

[Summary of article by Henning Schleiff, graduate in engineering and economics, chief mayor of Rostock City; and Prof Dr Manfred Krueger, Marxism-Leninism Section, Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock; pp 51-56]

[Text] In the course of further shaping the socialist way of life, great responsibilities have been transferred to the local state agencies. Based on many facts and examples, experiences are being reported on, which were gained by the Rostock city council in promoting social activities of its citizens and in improving living conditions. Deductions are made which show consequences for the further improvement of the work of the local councils, for the effective collaboration between people's representations, factories and all the social forces with the territory concerned.

## The New Tasks of Socialist Construction in the Mongolian People's Republic

[Summary of article by Damdingiyn Gombojab, Politburo candidate and Central Committee secretary, Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party; pp 57-65]

[Text] Under the guidance of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party and supported by the all-round fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the working people of the Mongolian People's Republic have fulfilled the basic socio-economic tasks of the past Five-Year Plan. Proceeding from a thorough analysis of the results, the Party Congress elaborated the further course of domestic and foreign policy and outlined a new, far-reaching socio-economic program. Heightened demands are made on the leading role of the party in the economic, socio-political and spiritual development of society in accordance with the resolutions passed at the party congress.

## Struggle for Scientific-Technical Top Performance

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Biermann, member, SED Central Committee; director general, VEB Carl Zeiss, Jena; pp 81-86]

[Text] Scientific-technical top performances always require the entire strength of the work collective, careful ideological preparation, and make utmost claims on a tight leadership and exact controls. At the example of successful cooperative work in the Intercosmos program, experiences are demonstrated of effective cooperation between workers, technical personnel and scientists of the USSR and the GDR. Questions are being answered as to which factors of influence deserve particular attention in the case of VEB Carl Zeiss Jena, and as to how solutions have been found for certain tasks, and finally as to how socialist ideology and socialist ways of conduct had been shaped.

## Inflation—Chronic Affliction of Today's Capitalism

[Summary of article by Dr Caspar Schirmeister, Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 94-104]

[Text] Inflation has become a permanent manifestation of the chronic instability of the capitalist economy. The article discusses the apologetic assertion by imperialist economists, who speak of "worldwide" inflation as "the price of economic growth." The article proves that inflation is an essential element of the capitalist reproduction process of our days, and that the inflationary process—in a collusion of monopolies and the state—proceeds mainly by way of the raising of monopolistic prices and profits, and that it is accompanied by a sharpening of class polarization and exploitation of the working people.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIAN LIFE STRESSED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 76 pp 30-31

[Article by Borislav Vucetic: "Enhanced Combat Readiness Through Careful Management"]

[Text] The funds allocated by society for defense are used in the most efficient way to strengthen the country's defense capability. A substantial portion is returned to the community via the economy. Thanks to military needs, for example, special facilities for producing goods and providing services are being developed in many branches of the economy. This promotes improvement in both economic and defense potential. Approximately 90 percent of the funds needed by the armed forces are spent in organizations of associated labor throughout the country. We go abroad only for the latest achievements in equipment, which would be expensive and uneconomical to manufacture here.

By good management, the armed forces have tried again this year to accomplish all planned tasks with the lowest possible funds or to accomplish much more than planned while using the same level of resources.

In view of the fact that a strong and stable economy is essential to building up a powerful military force that is equipped with modern weapons, servicemen and career military men are making great efforts to use the military dinar in the best possible way. Workshops, kitchens, laundries, and transportation are consolidated wherever possible by caserne, garrison, or broader territorial principle. Food articles and other materiel are purchased under joint contracts, resulting in lower prices, better supplies, and greater savings. Furthermore, the armed forces build firing ranges and casernes and maintain various military facilities on their own. The resultant savings amounted to 18,176,397 dinars in 1971, 29,529,314 dinars in 1972, 44,229,764 dinars in 1973, 75,095,780 dinars in 1974, and 65,551,775 dinars in 1975.

Through the efforts and self-sacrifice of servicemen and career military men, and through the introduction of modern technology and the wise assignment of specialists within the armed forces, budgetary funds are being used to the

fullest to accomplish large-scale modern projects that are essential to a contemporary army. This is providing the conditions for the accomplishment of complicated tasks in training for the further modernization and an enhancement of the combat capability of our army and for a greater contribution to the stabilization of the economy.

The military dinar was given again this year in a somewhat larger quantity to numerous institutions that are working on improving prototypes of motor vehicles and attachments. Many designs deriving from the prototype development process, as well as solutions for particular components and parts, are likewise a unique military contribution to the economy. The armed forces have contributed substantially to the standardization of numerous products of domestic industry. Tests conducted by specialized military institutions and financed by the Yugoslav People's Army (instead of the manufacturers themselves) make a great contribution to improving the quality of output by providing a wide-ranging program of laboratory and field testing for operating safety and durability in prototypes.

#### Builders in Uniform

Swamps, rocky terrain, and many other obstacles failed again this year to hold back the construction workers in olive drab uniforms. They have almost always built where construction was most difficult. Let us just recall the roads built from Mioska to Savnik, from Mount Cer to the village of Tekers, from the village of Jazak to the village of Mala Remeta, from Posjaca to Rastovnica, from Negotino to Lakovica and Krivolak, from Rogosica to Debelo Hill, and others. Approximately 317 kilometers of various kinds of roadway have been rebuilt. The armed forces participated in the construction of water pipes for more than 100 kilometers in the opstinas of Knin, Sinj, Sid, Sjenica, and others; several wells were tapped.

Engineering units also participated in reforestation projects and in the construction of airfields for recreational flying, wharves, athletic facilities, commemorative centers, and commemorative parks.

Since the war, the armed forces have built more than 6,000 kilometers of roadway, 995 bridges of different kinds extending a total of more than 26 kilometers, etc.

In flooded areas in the vicinity of the Morava and other rivers, servicemen have been the first to arrive to aid the threatened population. They joined territorial defense and civil defense units in nearly a month of severe struggle against raging waters in the basins of the Morava, Vrbas, Sava, and other rivers. When a powerful earthquake hit the population of the Soca basin, the armed forces were the first to admit the victims to their tents and feed them warm food from military caldrons.

The damage caused by floods and earthquakes is enormous. The armed forces have helped to alleviate the consequences considerably.

Again this autumn, several thousand servicemen and career military men left their casernes behind and went into the fields to help farmers harvest the crops.

If all the working hours spent in the fields were to be converted into money, they would total several billion dinars.

The armed forces provide substantial additional assistance to the community through training for soldiers and seamen whose occupations are of wider social significance. Again this year, the Yugoslav People's Army has trained several thousand drivers, construction machine operators, mechanics, radio-telegraphers, teleprinters, telephone operators, cooks, bakers, hospital orderlies, automobile mechanics, aircraft mechanics, radio mechanics, machinists, engine operators, etc.

#### For the Injured, 16,500 Liters of Blood

Since more modern equipment has been introduced, treatment costs have been reduced in medical-corps establishments, while health care has been improved at the same time. Hospital capacities are also being used more efficiently, with a considerable reduction in operating costs.

Outfitting hospitals with more modern equipment has provided the essentials not only for an increase in the volume of operations but also for greater effectiveness in diagnosis and treatment. The average stay for inpatient treatment has also been reduced. This year alone, more than 36,000 civilians have been treated in military hospitals. The total number of inpatient days, 605,953, averages out to 16.4 per patient.

In addition, more than 531,220 specialist examinations and 305,638 photo-fluorographic examinations were provided for civilians.

Military personnel gave blood voluntarily for the ill and injured whenever necessary. In 1975, 61,004 volunteer blood donors provided more than 16,500 liters of this precious fluid. The blood collected was preserved, treated, and used for the needs of medical-corps establishments. Certain amounts of blood were also transferred to civilian health establishments. The Military Medical Academy, for example, transferred 512.5 liters of blood plasma this year alone.

More than 500 health workers have taken various forms of advanced training in medical-corps establishments (specialized training, examinations for master's degrees, internship, exercises, seminars, courses). Moreover, 3,500 physicians, dentists, pharmacists, medical technicians, and hospital orderlies have been trained in training centers for various duties. Military physicians are constantly trying to insert subject matter of interest to national defense into specialized subjects taught at faculties and superior schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. The latter institutions have been given medical-corps equipment worth 8,000,000 dinars to establish laboratories.

Specialists from the medical corps cooperate actively with commissions at federal, republic, and province level to settle matters in the realm of medical care, both in peacetime operations and in preparations for nationwide defense. For example, many springs in regions of special interest to nationwide defense have been identified, etc.

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